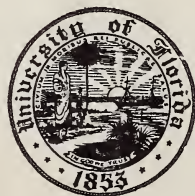




UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES

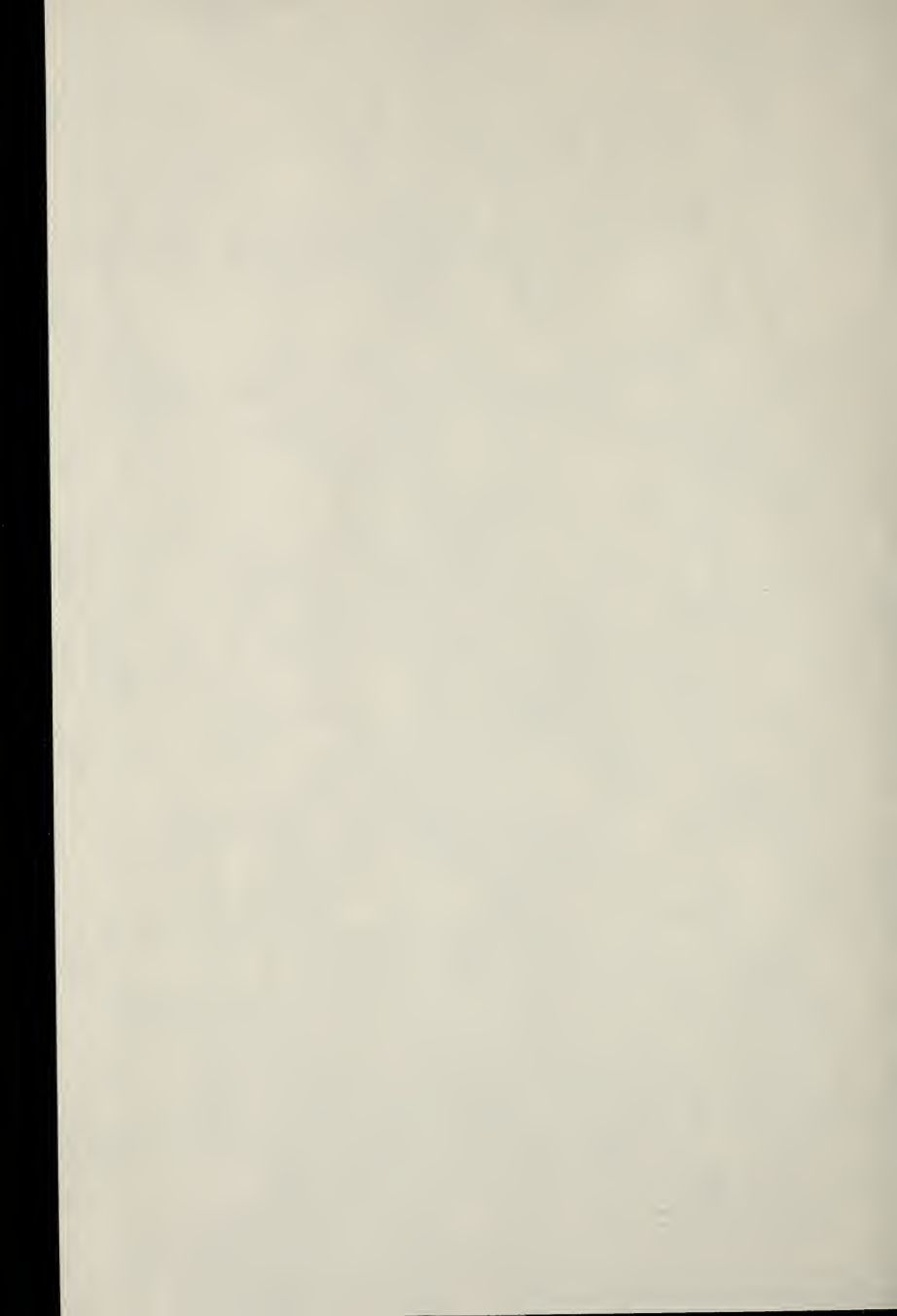


COLLEGE LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

<http://archive.org/details/classicalstudies00pike>



CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES



CLASSICAL STUDIES & SKETCHES

BY
JOSEPH B. PIKE

Essay Index Reprint Series

BOOKS FOR LIBRARIES PRESS, INC.

FREEPORT, NEW YORK

First published 1931

Reprinted 1967



09. 210.

PREFACE

Some of the articles contained in this collection have been published elsewhere. I am indebted to Allyn and Bacon for their courtesy in permitting the inclusion of the study on the Milesian tale, which was first published in pamphlet form by that firm and forms the introduction to my edition of Apuleius. The editors of the *Classical Journal* have kindly allowed me to reprint the articles entitled "A Greek Conception of the Constitution of Matter" and "Can Latin Be Revived as the International Language of Science?"

JOSEPH B. PIKE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
OCTOBER, 1930

CONTENTS

I. VERONA AND CATULLUS	1
II. GIACOMO BONI	27
III. PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY OF THE FIRST CENTURY	43
IV. SENECA	69
V. ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE AGE OF SIDONIUS	93
VI. CLASSICAL PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY . .	118
VII. A GREEK CONCEPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER	148
VIII. CAN LATIN BE REVIVED AS THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE?	165

I

VERONA AND CATULLUS

VERONA

DIRECTLY west of Venice and at a distance of about sixty miles lies Verona, the most picturesque and interesting city of the Venetian mainland. The center of the Verona of Roman times may still be traced in the Piazza delle Erbe, in olden days the Forum but now the fruit and vegetable market and one of the most fascinating of the many picturesque squares to be found in Italian cities. During the World War a bomb was dropped from an aeroplane into this square and about sixty people were killed. This may be taken as a gruesome indication of the military importance of the city. Situated upon the main road and commanding one of the easiest Alpine passes to the north, Verona is of great strategic value, as it was, indeed, even in ancient times.

We read in Tacitus, where he is speaking of the struggle between the armies of Vespasian and Vitellius, that the "reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth and gave an example to other cities." "Moreover," he continues, "as it lies between Rhaetia and the Julian Alps, it was a post of importance, where an army in force might command the pass into Italy and render it inaccessible to the German armies." Tacitus' words "brought an accession of

wealth" and another phrase that he uses in this same passage—in *Veronensibus pretium fuit* ("the Veronese were a prize worth getting")—clearly indicate that the place was not only of military importance but that it was a wealthy and flourishing city.

Verona then, apart from its absorbing story in the history of the Middle Ages, its glorious place in the world of art, and its checkered career in modern times until its incorporation into the Kingdom of Italy, is of particular interest to the student of classical history and art because it is the only important city of northern Italy whose ancient monuments are so preserved and so situated that they easily permit the reconstruction in broad outline of the classic Augustan colony. When we consider that of ancient Milan, Pavia, Turin, Placentia, and Cremona practically nothing remains, the importance of Verona in this respect is apparent.

The town is situated upon the banks of the Adige, a swift mountain river, which more than once in the past has left the city in ruins, but which is now confined between strong embankments in the city itself and is so regulated by dykes that it has been rendered harmless. The name of this river in ancient times was Athesis, and how appropriate the word *circumflua* is in Silius Italicus' phrase, *Verona Athesi circumflua*, is clear when we look at the situation. The Adige winds around in the form of a letter S, and although the town is situated on both sides of the river, its main portion is confined within the curve of the lower part of the S.

The general outline of the ancient walls may be followed with the aid of the following cardinal points. The

Porta Borsari consists of a double arcade surmounted by two stories of arched galleries. Baedeker characterizes it as "a town gate, erected under the Emperor Gallienus A. D. 265, in the poor, later Roman style." But what we really have is the principal gate of the Augustan city, the two arcades in pure classic style being a veneer, so to speak, of the heavy Augustan gate. Gallienus retopped the structure, erased the original inscription, and wrote thereon that the walls of Verona were built between April and December of the year 265 by order of the Emperor Gallienus. It is perfectly apparent that the walls could not have been built in this space of time and that Gallienus' work was simply that of reconstruction and repairing.

That Verona was recolonized and rebuilt by Augustus about 25 B. C. was pretty conclusively shown by Frothingham, the distinguished professor of archaeology at Princeton, in a most interesting way. Frothingham had a theory in regard to colony arches: that they were built wherever an Augustan colony was founded; that they stood outside the walls; that they were placed on the outer pomerium line across the main highway outside the principal city gate. Judging from the known pomerium width at Aosta, 366 meters, that the greater size of Verona would warrant an estimate of from 500 to 600 meters, he began pacing off the ground from the Porta Borsari, the conjectured Augustan gate, along the Corso Cavour in line with the ancient road to Rome. At a distance of 550 meters he found marked in the pavement by white cobblestones edged with black, the outline of a Roman arch.

On this spot stood, until 1805, the so-called "Arch of the

Gavii," an exquisite work of Augustan art. This was torn down during the French occupation in 1809. An Austrian archduke afterward offered to pay half the expense of rebuilding the arch, but the Veronese, impoverished by war, were unable to undertake the task, and the pieces of the arch were carted to the Arena and there they rested, unknown to archaeologists, until Frothingham discovered them. The Veronese had contented themselves with marking in the pavement the plan of the arch on the original site.

The other point that serves to fix the position of the classic walls is the Arce Leoni, the remains of a Roman city gate built into the side wall of a house in a street leading from the Piazza delle Erbe to the bridge known as the Ponte delle Navi. The southern Roman wall therefore ran westward from the Adige, passing north of the bridge, and joined the western wall at a right angle near the Coliseum.

The Coliseum, called even now "Arena" from the common medieval Italian term for "Roman amphitheater," is in a fair state of preservation, although it has lost all but four of its outer arches. It was constructed of marble and would seat about twenty-five thousand people.

One may still cross the river by the Ponte Pietra, so named in medieval times to distinguish it from the only other bridge, the Ponte delle Navi, or Bridge of Boats, a pontoon structure. The piers and two of the arches of the former are Roman. Just south of this bridge are the remains of the Teatro Romano. Built of soft tufa, it is conjectured that it may even antedate the time of Augustus. West of the theater, towering on an eminence, is the Castel San Pietro, interesting for our purpose as undoubtedly marking

VERONA AND CATULLUS

the site of the *arx* of the original settlement. Any visitor, by these few guiding points, is enabled to reconstruct, at least roughly, the outlines of classic Verona.

The roll of the ancient and modern Verona is a long and distinguished one, and at the entrance of the fine old town hall, popularly known as La Loggia and built in the early Renaissance style, one may see above the door the statues of Cornelius Nepos, the biographer; Vitruvius, the architect; Pliny, the naturalist; Macer, the poet and the friend of Vergil; and the poet whose name is forever associated with Verona and its environs, Catullus. There is doubt as to the right of Verona to claim some of these ancient worthies, but in the case of Catullus her title is clear. Speaking of the glory that he has reflected upon his own birthplace, Martial remarks, *Nec sua plus debet tenui Verona Catullo* ("nor does his own Verona owe more to the poet Catullus"), and Ovid sings, *Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo*.

Catullus himself says, *Brixia, Veronae mater amata meae* ("Brixia, loved mother of my Verona"). He also sends an invitation to a brother poet begging him to leave Como and its lake to visit him at Verona:

Poetae tenero, meo sodali
velim Caecilio, papyre, dicas
Veronam veniat, Novi relinquens
Comi moenia Lariumque litus.

Go, my note, I pray thee quick:
Caecilius find and say
Verona bids him come,
Como must be left to mourn.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

In a letter to a friend the poet says that it is base for him to tarry at Verona, for his mistress, Lesbia, is showering favors upon his rivals at Rome.

Eight or ten miles to the west of Verona is the southern shore line of the Lago di Garda, the Lacus Benacus of Roman times, the most azure blue of all those lovely north Italian lakes. From this south shore juts out a very narrow neck of land. Near the extremity of the peninsula is the Italian resort, Sirmione, known in classic times as "Sirmio," and just beyond are the remains of a Roman building called the "Grotte di Catullo," extending into the lake and fabled to have been the country home of Catullus, who wrote his poems there. At any rate, whether or no this particular building was Catullus' villa, the peninsula of Sirmio was one of his favorite haunts and he did have a country house there, even after Rome became his chief place of residence. He calls it the gem of all peninsulas and islands in lakes and seas, and in a poem addressed to Sirmio he invokes it as his home to welcome him on his return from the Orient. This charming poem, one of his best known, is written in the so-called "scazon" or "choliambic" meter, a favorite rhythm of Catullus:

Paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque
ocelle, quascumque in liquentibus stagnis
marique vasto fert uterque Neptunus
quam te libenter quamque laetus invisio,
vix mi ipse credens Thyniam atque Bithynos
liquisse campos et videre te in tuto.
o quid solutis est beatius curis,
cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino

VERONA AND CATULLUS

labore fessi venimus larem ad nostrum
desideratoque acquiescimus lecto?
hoc est, quod unumst pro laboribus tantis.
salve, o venusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude:
gaudete vosque, o Lydiae lacus undae:
ridete, quicquid est domi cachinnorum.

O, Sirmio, of all the islands,
Of all peninsulas the jewel,
Set in the sea's vast heaving bosom
Or lying on still pool's gleaming waters,
How joyous and with what a gladness
I see thee now once more, when I return.
Can I have left the east behind me
And view thee, free from all its dangers?
How good to cast aside our worries
When once our soul lays down its burdens
And, wearied with our distant travel,
We reach again the old home dwelling
And rest upon the couch we've longed for!
'Tis well worth all and more we've suffered.
My greetings to thee, lovely island!
Rejoice with me, O Lydian waters,
Peal loud, all laughter in my home!

The Italian poet Carducci has written a series of poems that he has whimsically and with deprecation entitled *Odi Barbare*. They reproduce in Italian, as well as may be, the music of the ancient meters. Many of them are of much power, originality, and beauty. One, entitled "Sirmione," is filled with recollections of Catullus. But for those of our tongue it is Tennyson, with his haunting lines re-echoing

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

strains of Catullian music, who has united in everlasting bonds the memory of Catullus with this spot:

FRATER AVE ATQUE VALE

Row us out from Desenzano, to your Sirmione row!
So they rowed, and there we landed—'O venusta Sirmiol!'
There to me thro' all the groves of olive in the summer glow,
There beneath the Roman ruin where the purple flowers grow,
Came that 'Ave atque Vale' of the Poet's hopeless woe,
Tenderest of Roman poets nineteen-hundred years ago,
'Frater Ave atque Vale'—as we wander'd to and fro
Gazing at the Lydian-laughter of the Garda Lake below
Sweet Catullus's all-but-island, olive-silvery Sirmiol!

CATULLUS

The period known in Roman literature as the Ciceronian, that in which Roman classic prose style attained perfection and which ushered in the Augustan Age, or the period of perfection in poetry, itself possessed two of the most highly gifted poets of the Latin tongue, Lucretius and Catullus; one, the philosopher poet and deep thinker, earnestly desirous of rendering more tolerable that short gleam of consciousness called life for this poor combination of atoms known as man; the other, gallant and man of fashion, light-hearted, impulsive, passionate, and finally the victim of the wiles of a gifted and beautiful but abandoned woman.

Catullus' short volume of poems is practically the only source of information about his life. Unfortunately the poems were not published in chronological order, and as they stand they are somewhat puzzling to the reader who

desires more than the impression of a single detached poem. It is, however, not difficult to draw, in outline at least, the picture of the poet's life, so truly does his work reflect the feelings of the writer, his joys, his loves, his follies, his hate, and finally his bitterness.

Verona was an important town, which had become a Roman colony in 87 B. C., two years before the birth of Catullus. As a result of Roman conquest, it had lost its original Gallic characteristics, and its civilization was half Roman and half Greek. In this, his native city, Catullus must have fallen early under the influence of what is called the Alexandrian school of poetry, a school that arose in Egypt after the dissolution of the Macedonian Empire. The Alexandrians, having lost the inspiration of a national life, became students of the minute; and erudition, abstruse and often petty, became a marked characteristic of their literary work. The prettily turned phrase, the erudite allusion, the artificial analogy, but withal perfection of form, became typical of this school, which, more than any other, influenced the multitudinous throngs of Romans who tried their hands at poetic composition during the first century before Christ. One of these was Catullus. Just so far, however, as he rises superior to the cramping and deadening influence of the school does he show himself one of Rome's most richly gifted poets.

We find Catullus at Rome somewhere between his twentieth and twenty-fifth year, courted and admired by the literary set of the city, dissipated and one of the gayest of the gay. "Come, my slave," he sings, "pour out stronger cups of Falernian at the bidding of our mistress, Postumia,

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

who is tipsier than the tipsy grape. Away, water, thou destruction of wine, make thy home with the stern and sour. This (raising high the cup) is unadulterated delirium." These thoughts he expresses in the hendecasyllabic meter, or eleven-syllable line, a form that he brought to such a degree of perfection that he is its acknowledged master:

Minister vetuli puer Falerni
inger mi calices amariores,
ut lex Postumiae iubet magistræ,
ebrioso acino ebriosioris.
at vos quolibet hinc abite, lymphæ,
vini perniciēs, et ad severos
migrate; hic merus est Thyonianus.

Catullus had one country home on the Lago di Garda and another in the Sabine district where Horace later had his famous farm. He was, however, none too well provided with money for the extravagant society in which he moved, and he sings in his favorite meter that his friend Fabullus will dine sumptuously at his house, that is, if he bring a good dinner with him, not forgetting a pretty girl, wine, wit, and laughter. His own purse, he remarks, is filled with cobwebs.

It was at Rome, in the midst of its brilliant society, that Catullus fell a victim to the master passion of his life, a passion that inspired the only Latin lyrics with the ring of genuine feeling that have been preserved. She who inspired this passion is addressed by the poet as Lesbia. Her true name was Clodia, sister of Clodius, the well-known enemy of Cicero. The evidence for this statement rests upon the

following facts. Ovid says that Lesbia was an assumed name. Now it was a custom for poets to address the objects of their desires under an assumed name. Convention ordained that the assumed name be of exactly the same number of syllables and of the same metrical value as the true name; Tibullus calls Plania by the assumed name "Delia," and Propertius calls Hostia, "Synthia." Lesbia, then, might be the equivalent of Clodia. Furthermore, Apuleius explicitly states that Clodia was the name concealed under that of Lesbia; and, finally, all that Catullus says of Lesbia tallies so closely with what is known of Clodia that there seems no reason for doubting the general belief of antiquity. Clodia came of a distinguished and ancient line and had married Caelius Metellus Celer, a consular, who had, as became a man of that position, great influence and personal dignity. She herself possessed remarkable beauty of a rich southern type; she was a favorite in society, witty, and constantly surrounded by lovers; and she wielded considerable political influence. She was six or seven years older than Catullus. At first she was undoubtedly flattered by the attentions of this pet of the literary circles of Rome, and Catullus became enslaved by her universally conquering charms, for she was beautiful from her gorgeous hair to the soles of her snowy feet and had stolen the charms of all other women:

Lesbia formosa est; quae cum pulcherrima tota est,
tum omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres.

Adapting one of Sappho's odes to his own purpose, Catullus deems that man who is blessed enough to gaze upon her

and listen to her rippling laughter a very god, unless there be aught higher than a god:

Ille mi par esse deos videtur,
 ille, si fas est, superare divos,
 qui sedens adversus identidem te
 spectat et audit dulce ridentem.

The very intoxication of passion is felt in the famous lines in which he reminds her that life is short and should be spent in the bosom of pleasure:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
 rumoresque senum severiorum
 omnes unius aestimemus assis.
 soles occidere et redire possunt;
 nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
 nox est perpetua una dormienda.
 da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
 dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
 deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum,
 dein, cum millia multa fecerimus,
 conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
 aut ne quis malus invidere possit,
 cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

I once remarked in the hearing of Henry Bellows, a versatile scholar, well known as the translator of the *Elder Edda*, that our cold Saxon temperament would not admit of a translation of the concluding lines of the poem that does not seem trivial. In answer, and also, perhaps, to refute my strictures upon the use of rhyme in translations from the classical poets, Mr. Bellows wrote down the fol-

VERONA AND CATULLUS

lowing translation, which he himself had made in his student days:

My Lesbia, let us live and let us love;
Be sure the councils of the wise are worth
No passing thought, for though the sun above
May pass, he comes again to light the earth,
But when our day of sunlight wanes
Only an endless night remains.

Give me a hundred kisses, then a score,
A thousand, then a hundred more and yet
Another hundred, then a thousand more—
And then—their number let us both forget
That envy may not ever see
How many kisses there can be.

When Lesbia plays with her pet sparrow, Catullus suggests half in earnest and half seriously, as though he wished that he might himself believe what he says, that she does it to wean her thoughts from the sharp pangs of love, and he expresses the wish that he too might find like consolation. So, also, the elegy on the sparrow's death is badinage, half serious, but graceful and charming poetry. All the other poems that have to do with Lesbia are earnest and serious, expressing burning love or bitter hate. He did, perhaps, deceive himself into believing that no woman had ever had such adoration, so earnestly does he speak:

Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam
vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea'st.
nulla fides fuit unquam foedere tanta,
quanta in amore tuo ex parte reperta mea'st.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

Sometime during the progress of this amour Catullus lost a brother to whom he was dearly attached. The brother died while traveling in the distant Troad. In his sorrow Catullus withdrew to his native Verona, where he could write of nothing but his grief. In an elegy, full of feeling naturally expressed, he asks whether he is never to see that dear form nor hear that dear voice again. Yet will he always love him and ever sing the sorrow of his death.

During this period Clodia was faithless to Catullus and he knew it. She spoke ill of him too, he tells us, but he swears that she loves him still, and if you ask him how he knows, he will tell you that he speaks ill of her, yet loves her still. The naïve poem in which this thought is expressed has been much imitated, notably by Bussy Rabutin, the brilliant cousin of Madame de Sévigné and the author of the *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules*:

Philis dit le diable de moi;
De son amour et de sa foi
C'est une preuve assez nouvelle;
Ce qui me fait croire, pourtant,
Qu'elle m'aime effectivement,
C'est que je dit le diable d'elle,
Et que je l'aime éperdument.

Clodia's husband, Metullus, died suddenly, and the suspicion of poisoning was whispered about. We may, perhaps, acquit Clodia of this crime on indirect evidence. Cicero, who thoroughly hated her and accused her of all crimes imaginable, does mention this suspicion, but he does not lay as much stress upon it as he undoubtedly would

have done had there been any reasonable grounds for the accusation. Clodia was, however, a courtesan at heart and now gave loose rein to her inclinations. She even received among her lovers personal friends of Catullus, among others Caelius Rufus, whom he taxes with perfidy. This was the Caelius who was afterward charged with having attempted to poison Clodia and in whose defense Cicero delivered the speech that paints in such lurid colors the wickedness of the woman. On the same score Catullus vents his bitterness against Ravidius and Gellius. Especially coarse are his attacks upon Gellius—coarse even when we make allowance for the license of Roman customs and the freedom of the Latin tongue. He even turns the sting of his epigram against Clodia. Yet he confesses that hate itself cannot break the shackles of infatuation. He hates and loves, and if you ask him why, he knows not; he only feels and suffers:

Odi et amo. quare id faciam requires fortasse,
nescio. sed fieri sentio et excrucior.

When Clodia calls him back temporarily, perhaps to test her power over him, perhaps sated with her many intrigues, he prays the gods that her promises may be kept and the tie be everlasting. A second rupture proves that his hopes are vain and, unable longer to blind himself to the truth, his life's romance ends with the bitter wish that she may live happily with her lovers and give no thought to that affection which, because of her wickedness, droops as does the flower on the meadow's edge cut down by the ruthless plow in its passage:

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est.

This thought is expressed in the Sapphic stanza. Some critics think that Horace found little opportunity to improve upon the form as handed down by Catullus. One's ear tells him, however, that Catullus has not attained perfect ease and mastery in handling this form; and this is the reason, I believe, that he employs it so rarely. In general, the poems describing the growth, maturity, and death of his infatuation are unsurpassed for simplicity, naturalness, and harmony.

Catullus went to Bithynia in the suite of Memmius, the governor of that province. Like other young men who often joined such parties in the expectation of pecuniary advantage, Catullus was inspired by this motive, for his means were none too great for the expenditures incurred amid the gay surroundings of the capitol. Memmius cared not a whit for the welfare of his dependents, and Catullus, in a letter to a friend, intimates that his hopes for pecuniary advancement had been far from realized. After a year he left the service with joy. On his journey through Asia he stopped at the tomb of his brother and gave expression to the sorrow that ever welled anew when he thought of his bereavement. He had traversed many lands and sailed over many seas and now came to give the last offerings to the poor dumb ashes of him who was so dear.

Accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu
atque in perpetuum frater ave atque vale.

VERONA AND CATULLUS

He made his journey home in his own boat, one of those long, swift, narrow yachts known to the Greeks as *phaselus*. On his safe arrival he wrote a dedicatory poem celebrating her good qualities. His disillusionment with regard to Clodia seemed to allow him to turn his attention to poems of a more serious character, and these will soon claim our attention.

Although we are not to take literally all that he says, it must be acknowledged that many of the epigrams of this period indicate, after all due allowance has been made for that freedom of speech that has ever characterized Latin peoples, not only a looseness of life but an intimate acquaintance with those forms of vice particularly peculiar to ancient peoples. One who cares to whitewash this phase of his character may call as witness one of Catullus' own epigrams in which he coarsely rebukes Aurelius and Furius, who have presumed to find him immodest because his verses are rather voluptuous. "For," remarks he, "the sacred poet ought to be chaste himself; his verses need not be so."

The epigrams also prove that his fame as a poet had now brought him to the notice, not only of the pleasure-loving society of Rome, but to that of the most influential men in the state. He devoted some attention to political matters and even attacked the great Caesar himself. It is conjectured that the latter found means to win his good will or at least his passive allegiance, for the attacks suddenly ceased. Literary discussion was, however, more to the taste of Catullus. He mentions important works of his brother poets and praises them. The lack of taste displayed

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

by poets who follow the earlier school of poetry provoked some of his harshest abuse. Affectation excited his mirth and he ridiculed the growing practice of aspirating initial vowels. A certain Arrius insisted upon pronouncing "ambush," "hambush."

Chommoda dicebat, si quando commoda vellet
dicere, et insidias Arrius hinsidias.

The public, however, had hopes of not having their ears offended further, for Arrius had been sent into Syria on a mission. Suddenly the awful news came that since Arrius' arrival in that region of the world, one no longer heard of the Ionian Sea. It had become the "Hionian Sea."

Ionios fluctus, postquam illuc Arrius isset,
iam non Ionios esse, sed Hionias.

All of the more pretentious works of Catullus show great poetic gifts, but in some of them the taint of Alexandrianism, to which he had risen superior in the lyrics, is detected. We might expect this in the poem entitled "Coma Bereneces," for it is a translation from the Greek of Callimachus. It is not only forced and artificial in its theme but is obscure in its expression. Berenece, wife of an Egyptian king, offered up a lock of her hair in the temple of Venus for the safe return of her husband from war. This lock disappeared from the temple, and the court astrologer, Conon, declared that it had been translated to the skies and there gleamed as a new constellation. Catullus' poem rep-

VERONA AND CATULLUS

resents the lock of hair, or the constellation, lamenting its severance from the head of its mistress.

Again, in his longest work, "The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis," an epillion in heroic hexameter, though the verse is handled with marvelous skill and lofty heights of poetic expression are attained, Catullus sins against the canon of symmetrical structure in that he extends what should be an episode to unnatural proportions. In describing the nuptial couch of Peleus and Thetis he mentions, among other scenes embroidered upon the canopy, one depicting the story of the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus. Catullus takes the opportunity to tell the whole legend of the latter event, and its narration takes up about one-half of the entire poem. Apart from the two examples cited, the longer poems are quite up to the artistic level of the lyrics.

The epithalamium of Vinia and Manlius Torquatus is a poem full of grace and life, which gives, withal, a perfect picture of the Roman marriage in patrician circles. The poem, written in a five-line stanza consisting of four glyconics and a second pherecratic, is wonderfully musical. Its opening stanza, an invocation to Hymen, runs thus:

Collis o Heliconii
cultor, Uraniae genus,
qui rapis teneram ad virum
virginem, o Hymenae Hymen
o Hymen Hymenae.

The poet himself, standing at the door of the bride's house, thus invokes Hymen and directs a band of maids to sound the praises of that god by whose divinity the family and

the Roman state is perpetuated. The bride should now appear, but modesty detains her. The poet encourages her: "Cease to weep, O daughter of Arunculeius! There is no danger that fairer woman than thou shall look upon bright dawn ascending from Ocean's stream":

Flere desine. non tibi Au-
runculeia, periculum est
nequa femina pulchrior
clarum ab Oceano diem
viderit venientem.

As the bride appears the Fescennine chant begins. One of the practices most repellent to modern taste was the introduction, in the Roman marriage ceremony, of coarse jesting—the so-called "Fescennine verses." It has been suggested that they were introduced to avert the influence of deities whose malignity might be aroused by the felicity of the bridegroom. The same idea permitted the introduction of joking and buffoonery in a part of the Roman funeral ceremony, so that the praise and laudation of the dead might not excite divine resentment. Fescennine verses seem to have constituted an essential part of the Roman marriage ceremony. Catullus, in his realism, introduces them in this hymn but with some skill and a degree of delicacy. They take the form of a warning to the bridegroom to abjure some of his former practices. The bride is lifted over the threshold of her new home and the attendant throng disappears, while the poet indulges in the hope that in the future a little Torquatus may stretch out his baby hands and smile at his father sweetly with half-parted lips:

VERONA AND CATULLUS

Torquatus volo parvulus
matris e gremio suae
porrigens teneras manus
dulce rideat ad patrem
semihante labello.

A second epithalamium, which probably was not written for a particular occasion as was the former, represents a chorus of maidens and youths singing responsive stanzas. Two of the most celebrated stanzas of the poem, which is in the heroic hexameter, represent the maidens singing that a modest flower growing in the retirement of the garden, safe from the encroachment of the cattle and the plow-share, nurtured by the sun, the air, and the rain, is desired by many a boy and maid, but when plucked by the careless hand it withers and is desired of none:

Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,
multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae;
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.

To this the youths reply that the vine in the naked field that is not upheld by the supporting tree trails upon the ground and never produces the luscious grape, and is neglected and uncared for by the farmer and his oxen; but if it is united to the supporting elm tree it receives all care:

Ut vidua in nudo vitis quae nascitur arvo
numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educit uvam,
sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus

iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum,
hanc nulli agricolae, nulli accolluere iuveni;
at si forte eadem'st ulmo coniuncta marito,
multi illam agricolae, multi accolluere iuveni.

The last poem written by Catullus, in many respects the most remarkable, is entitled "Attis," the name of a beautiful youth. The theme is original but repellent to modern taste. Simple, direct, and wonderfully rapid in movement, the story tells how Attis is inspired to become a priest of Cybele, the mother of the gods. Because only by so doing can he serve the goddess, the youth mutilates himself and, too late, repents. This is the only Greek or Latin poem extant in the galliambic meter, so named from the term *gallus*, applied to the priests of Cybele. As a work of pure imagination there is nothing in Latin literature to which it can be compared. It seems to me utterly untranslatable.

Some idea of the versification may be conveyed by the opening lines of Tennyson's "Boadicea," in which the poet has experimented with this meter:

While about the shores of Mona those Neronian legionaries
Burnt and broke the grove and altar of the Druid and
Druidess,
Far in the East, Boadicea, standing loftily charioted,
Mad and maddening all that heard her in her fierce volubility,
Girt by half the tribes of Britain, near the colony Camulodune,
Yelled and shrieked between her daughters o'er a wild confederacy.

Joseph Warton's remark, in his *Essay on Pope*, to the effect that the "Attis" of Catullus gives a better notion of what

the Greek dithyramb may have been than any extant remains of antiquity, shows keen insight and appreciation.

The Latin language in its classical form was incapable of forming compounds, in which respect it was like the French. The Greek, it will be recalled, formed compounds with as great facility as does the German. Plautus handled the idiom while it was still plastic and formed compounds with the freedom of genius, and in the "Attis" Catullus also used compounds with telling effect. This indicates that Latin had not yet reached that stiff and unyielding form in which it was cast even as early as the time of Horace. One is struck, too, with the richness of diminutive forms employed by Catullus all through his works, a usage that adds much to the beauty of his language.

The chief characteristics of the Alexandrian school have been mentioned. Catullus was, as we have seen, closely connected with it. To him was applied the term *doctus*, which marked one as belonging to the cultured class. It will be recalled that the expression is used by the bore in the well-known satire of Horace. Trying to force his acquaintance upon Horace, he remarks, *Noris nos, docti sumus* ("You should be acquainted with me; I belong to the cultured set"). In Catullus' time the term implied much. It meant that Ennius and the earlier writers were no longer the models to follow; that there was a new school of poets who wrote in accordance with the strict canons of Greek criticism as expounded by the grammarians. Now it was in this respect that Catullus was deeply indebted to the Alexandrians. Roman versification, notwithstanding the efforts of his predecessors and con-

temporaries, had remained strikingly crude. Horace claims to have been the first to naturalize the Greek lyric meters. We will concede that in handling in Latin the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas he has been unsurpassed. We concede, too, that despite the great success of Catullus with the dactylic hexameter, its rarest beauty awaited the inspired touch of Vergil and that Ovid perfected the elegiac distich. But Catullus is the master of the hendecasyllabic and glyconic forms. One's ear tells him that in pure melody there is little in the language that can equal some of Catullus' work. An admirable illustration of this quality is the short ritual hymn to Diana, the opening stanza of which reads:

Dianae sumus in fide
puellae et pueri integri;
Dianam pueri integri
puellaeque canamus.

Catullus was remarkably free from the faults of the Alexandrian school. Except in the "Coma Bereneces," which was a translation, he shows not a trace of the pedantic or obscure. His diction is pure and straightforward. Like Heine in German, he produces exquisite effects with the plain ordinary words in daily use. In general his language is very natural—as far removed as can be from the felicitous but studied phrasing of Horace.

I do not find that Catullus differs much from other Latin poets in his attitude toward nature. Nature in her calm and peaceful aspects attracted them: the calm and peaceful woods, cleared by the hand of man; the river flowing gently between well-kept banks; the flowers in the meadow; and,

VERONA AND CATULLUS

above all, the carefully trimmed and respectable garden. Appreciation of the grandeur of the sea and of the majesty of mountains is essentially a modern sentiment. Mountains were regarded with a shudder by the Romans and the sea suggested little but danger and hardship. Catullus never mentions the mountains. He shows more feeling for the sea, especially in several passages of "Peleus and Thetis." The cadence of his verse seems at times charged with the life and movement of the waves, as in two lines that bring before eye and ear the plunge of the breakers on a long stretch of sandy beach:

Litus ut longe resonante Eoa
tunditur unda.

Furthermore, many of the epithets that he applies to the sea show that he has the Greek rather than the Roman feeling for it.

The English student of Latin poetic literature feels that he is dealing with a range of ideas much more contracted than that of the Greeks or that of his own tongue. He feels, too, that the Greek point of view is nearer that of his own literature than is that of the Roman. He finds in both his own and the Greek a profounder feeling for the mystery of life and the expression of a deeper sympathy between man and the rest of nature. The Latin poets, however, occasionally show an intensity of feeling and an absorbing interest in that for which they care that gives great power and strength to some of their work. This ability to throw his whole soul into his work permitted Lucretius to invest the dry, technical discussion of philosophy with poetic

beauty. In Catullus this same quality invests the name of Sirmio with the same interest that centers about the "Lucretilis and Digentia" of Horace, while the warmth of feeling evinced in the poems addressed to Lesbia gives them a vitality unimpaired by the lapse of centuries.

Catullus died when he was about thirty years of age. He may have already done his best work. Had he lived, say ten years longer, however, there is at least the possibility, in fact the probability, that he would have produced something that in scope and finish would have equalled or even surpassed the work of his only rival, Horace.

II

GIACOMO BONI

THE name of Giacomo Boni will probably go down in the history of scholarship as that of the greatest archaeologist of modern times. Interest in archaeological investigation at the present time seems to have become a veritable mania. Expeditions are continually being formed and sent out by various societies, institutions, and private individuals. Formerly restricted to the classical lands, the field of investigation has spread to Asia, Africa, and America. Wonderful results are constantly being heralded. Even our somewhat provincial journals contain accounts of the most sensational finds, while such papers as the *London Times* and the *New York Times* publish articles almost daily upon the progress of the work.

Though one may lack the scientific attitude that must form the most important element in the mental equipment of an archaeologist, his imagination may be fired by the achievements of such men, particularly where behind the investigator is an attractive and compelling personality and where the work itself closely touches humanity.

To be a great archaeologist one must not only possess the scientific attitude and training, but he must be something of a poet and a philosopher. Such a man was Giacomo Boni, for many years in charge of the excavations of the Roman Forum and the Palatine. It was these qualities of

poet, dreamer, and philosopher that made it possible for Boni to begin work in a field that had been practically exhausted and upon which the final word had been uttered and to surprise the world with the work of his marvelous intuition.

His chief activities were centered in the Roman Forum and on the Palatine. The results attained are well known to all persons interested in the world's intellectual progress. The repetition of a few details with regard to these discoveries may serve to bring the well-known facts into close relation with the life and work of their originator—a theme that is interesting and not so well known.

When the biography of Boni is written, it will unquestionably be a fascinating one. Meanwhile it may be of interest to sketch briefly, from the meager material now available, the life of this self-sacrificing man of genius, beginning with the period antedating that of his real life work, which began when he was placed in the Forum as inspecting architect.

It is an interesting fact that practically all the great literary men of Roman literature were not Romans, that is, natives of the city of Rome—not Vergil, Horace, nor Cicero—and so through the list. So it was with Boni.

Rome now claims Giacomo Boni and she has given him the unprecedented honor of burial on the Palatine amid the laurels which he loved and which surround the simple home, his Villa Farnesina, as he named it, where he lived and worked so many years. Venice, not Rome, was his birthplace. It was appropriate that a son of the "Queen of the Adriatic" should come of a seafaring line. His father

died while Giacomo was still young and he received his education in the ordinary schools of Venice and Pisa. After receiving an elementary training he became a draughtsman in the office that had charge of the restoration of the Palazzo Ducale, and it was while holding this position that he studied for his degree at the Higher School of Architecture.

Boni became also an accomplished linguist, having taught himself Latin, Greek, French, and German. It is said that he so lived himself into the Latin tongue and its forms of thought that he found it easier to express himself in Latin than in Italian. It is of interest to English-speaking people to learn that he taught himself English primarily in order to read and translate Ruskin, whom he greatly admired. He met Ruskin for the first time in 1882, while still in the service of the bureau in charge of the restoration of the Ducal Palace, and it is beyond question that Ruskin exercised a decisive influence upon his taste and tendencies. It is said that in his devotion to study Boni would forget even his frugal meals and that on more than one occasion the winter dawn surprised him, wrapped in an old cloak and seated by the table on which burned a candle, by the dim light of which he had studied the night through.

One can well appreciate the physical discomfort of this young man, for it can be bitterly cold in Venice in winter. Even today, in the great universities of Rome, Naples, and Palermo, heat is unknown in many of the ordinary lecture rooms even in the depth of winter, and one's stiff fingers can scarcely guide his pen—fingers, that is, not hardened by experience.

While holding this position Boni wrote a number of

articles criticizing the methods pursued in the restoration of the Ducal Palace. He lost his place when it became known that he was their author, but was afterward reinstated. The Venetian papers would no longer publish the articles that he continued to write, but they were accepted by some of the Roman journals. They caught the attention of Premier Crispi, and their author was summoned to Rome and given the commission of reporting upon the monuments of Apulia.

Boni's criticisms were directed against the insincere methods of restoration and preservation adopted by the Italian government in the eighties. When Crispi's government sent him into Apulia to report upon the Hohenstaufen castles and other Swabian monuments, he did his work with thoroughness, preparing himself for it by making a study of the Swabian period in Italy. The gist of his recommendations was that all work of preservation should be in harmony with the spirit of the original builders and should never take such form as to cause confusion between the old and the new. These reports made him known to Pope Leo XIII, who summoned him as an advisor on the condition of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. At this action the ire of the official architects was aroused, but the Pope gave Boni his support. For years Boni had to contend against the jealousy of petty officialdom.

Even after he was made regular director of the excavations, the salary incident to that office was not granted, and for many years, although conducting work that was bringing renown to his country, his meager wage was under one thousand dollars a year.

Of this pittance, what he could spare was used in assisting those of his workmen who found themselves in difficulties and in purchasing plants mentioned by the classic writers with which to adorn the Forum and the Palatine. For Boni was a lover of beauty and wished to conceal the scars of excavation by the luxuriance of nature. It is due solely to him that the Palatine and the Forum are now parks of beauty as well as centers of archaeological and historical interest.

One of the characters in Anatole France's book *The White Stone*, a wonderful vivification of the philosophy, history, and life of the early years of the Roman Empire, who had for several months been a witness of the assiduous labors of Boni's workmen, of their intelligence, and of their prompt obedience to orders, inquired of the director of the excavations how it was that he obtained such yeoman's work from his laborers. "By leading their life," replied Boni. "Together with them do I turn over the soil; I impart to them what we are together seeking for, and I impress on their minds the beauty of our common work. They feel an interest in an enterprise, the grandeur of which they apprehend but vaguely. I have seen their faces pale with enthusiasm when unearthing the tomb of Romulus. I am their everyday comrade and if one of them is ill, I take a seat at his bedside. I place a great faith in them as they do in me and so it is that I boast of faithful workmen."

On his return to Rome after the Apulian commission, Boni found employment as inspecting architect in the Department of Fine Arts. The idea possessed him, however,

that if he could dig in the Roman Forum, he could discover the secret of that mysterious place. This was a bold, wild, and revolutionary idea in the eyes of all the eminent authorities of the time. The first systematic investigation had been conducted by Fea, Canina, and, after 1870, Rosa, Fiorelli, Lanciani, and Gatti. The Forum had already been so far unearthed as to show the remains of most of the buildings of the Imperial Age. The topography of the Forum was fairly well established and an eminent authority had declared that further excavation would be in vain.

It was not until 1898 that Boni obtained his chance, and what advantage he took of it the sequel will tell. In that year Crispi's minister of public instruction, Guido Baccelli, commissioned Boni as an architect to strengthen the Forum monuments and arrange in some sort of order the blocks of stone that lay in confusion on the surface of the Forum, but he was given strict orders not to dig. He took up his abode in the Forum and wrote thus to Ruskin: "Living in the Forum, there was born within me a close intimacy with those stones which had at first sight appeared mute and indifferent; and moved by force unknown before, I set out on my journey." His life work had now really begun.

Intuition is a mark of genius and baffles analysis, but the following remark of Boni will cast some light on the secret of his powers:

The darkness which time gathers upon the memories of the past grows more and more thick and impervious in proportion as one presumes to enlighten them at once by the artificial light of one's own knowledge—while he who approaches the

unknown in all humility, searching for truth and not for a confirmation of his own forecasts, living in an unknown milieu, gets accustomed, little by little, to the twilight, pierces it, discerns, touches with his own hands, never tires of gathering positive data, elements for criticism, feeds them with his own brain, which will spontaneously elaborate them and yield, perchance, the instinctive solution of a problem or point out where to carry on a thorough exploration to resolve it.

In such a spirit he began work in the Forum. With great secrecy, before dawn on winter mornings by the dim light of a candle, he delved beneath the pavement of the Comitium, the place of public meeting at the lower end of the Forum. There, only eighteen inches below the imperial level, he discovered a slab of black marble, known henceforth as the *Lapis Niger*, or Black Stone, which in olden times was said to mark the tomb of Romulus. Boni covered his find and made a confidential report to Baccelli, emphasizing the fact that the discovery would bring great glory to the administration. The minister visited the Forum, the stone was uncovered, and the minister was photographed standing upon it!

Boni had been led to believe that such a black stone might exist from a few references to it by Greek and Roman writers. In Festus, a grammarian of the second century A.D., we may read: "The Black Stone in the Comitium marks a place of ill omen, destined as a grave to Romulus, although the hero was not actually buried there: others say that either Faustulus, the Palatine shepherd, or Hostilius, the grandfather of King Tullius, was buried there."

We are informed elsewhere that M. Terentius Varro, whose great erudition earned him the title of the most learned of the Romans, thought that the *Lapis Niger* marked the tomb of Romulus because, as he says, "two stone lions have been erected to guard it, like that of a hero; and because funeral orations in honor of great men are still delivered from the rostra close by." Varro belonged to the generation before Cicero. Dionysius, the Greek writer on Roman antiquities, who flourished in the first century B. C., mentions one lion as being visible in his day. The two pedestals on which the lions rested are now clearly discernible on either side of the *Lapis Niger*.

This discovery made a tremendous sensation and was the first of the imposing list that made Boni famous. A little beneath this stone he subsequently discovered an ancient truncated column called a "cippus" or "stele," on which is carved the oldest known Latin inscription. This dates from about the middle of the fifth century B. C. The letters are Greek, running in different directions in alternate lines, from one end to the other on the four sides of the cippus. The meaning has not as yet been satisfactorily made out, although Ceci, an Italian archaeologist, has made a translation accepted by some. It seems to be a direction as to the manner of performing sacrifices.

These monuments and others to be enumerated later, dating back to the fifth century B. C. and beyond, were of profound historical significance. Credit was restored to some of the statements of the historian Livy, and evidence was given of a Roman history and civilization at a date at

which some eminent German archaeologists and historians had declared that there was none in existence.

There followed the exploration of the temple of Vesta, one of Boni's great achievements; the Lacus Curtius, described by Livy, into which Quintus Curtius was said to have thrown himself when he dedicated his life to the manes to save his country; and many others.

From earliest times the lower portions of the site of Rome had been visited periodically by destructive floods. Today, not very far from the Pantheon, there stands the massive Collegio Romano, a structure of the sixteenth century that was formerly an educational institution of the Church and now serves to house what we may call the College of Arts of the University of Rome. On one of the walls of the structure, under the colonnade surrounding the main court, is a mark and inscription stating that this was the high-water line of the overflow of the Tiber in the seventies. The Forum Romanum is on a level even lower and it was frequently devastated by the furious Tiber. Now, just why, despite the numerous high points in the city, was its very heart placed in this precarious position?

Boni had often pondered upon this problem and its solution is perhaps the most striking example of his almost uncanny power of intuition. The problem formulated itself in his mind thus: "Why should the Forum ever have been the Forum? Why should the Romans have chosen as the center of their civic life the bottom of a marshy valley liable to flood at every rise of the Tiber, and why should the Sacred Way lead down to it?"

Boni believed that the earliest Latins were of Aryan stock who had come into Europe from northern India by way of Persia and Asia Minor. He felt that the solution of many of the obscure points in regard to the religious beliefs and practices might be found in the sacred writings in the Sanscrit tongue, notably in the Vedas. As he made no secret of this belief, many regarded him as on the verge of lunacy. Believing that he might solve the problem of the Forum in this way, he plunged into the study of those writings. One day he came upon his clue, a passage ordaining that the dead must be buried in ground sloping toward still waters. He said to himself that the still waters were there in the marsh at the bottom of the valley—it will be remembered that the Forum was possible only after the construction, in the time of the kings, of the Cloaca Maxima, or great sewer, which drained the marsh. The sloping ground was there in the *clivus sacer*, down which the Sacred Way ran from the summit to the level of the Comitium. All that was to be done was to find in the Forum the early Latin burial ground, the prehistoric necropolis. It must be near the Sacred Way.

Boni sunk shaft after shaft. The work was difficult because the ground was covered with buildings of the medieval and other periods, and there was but a limited area in which to work. Twelve shafts produced no results. An Englishman, Wickham Steed, with whom Boni, as the result of a great bereavement, had lived for some little time, thus tells the story:

Twice a week, even after he had ceased to live with me, he came to luncheon, always bringing or sending an armful of

greenery or flowers from the Forum to grace the table. One day in the hot July of 1900, he turned up looking like a man inspired. "I shall find it this afternoon," he exclaimed. "I walked over the place this morning and I felt it burn my feet! I will telephone as soon as I have found it." Toward five o'clock he telephoned that he had found it and called me to see it. He had, in fact, found, by the side of the Sacred Way, about level with the façade of the Basilica of Antoninus and Faustina, a prehistoric urn of black earthenware and afterward uncovered twenty-six tombs of various shapes and sizes. The urns, containing the ashes of the dead, were small receptacles fashioned in the form of a primitive hut; these were placed in a larger vessel containing various dishes which held food for the departed soul.

Boni experimented with clay found in the neighborhood and succeeded in making some urns of exactly the same texture as those he had found. This old burial ground antedated the traditional date of the founding of Rome by one or two centuries and formed a conclusive refutation of the theories of the sceptical Theodore Mommsen and his school. Some of the tombs were for inhumation as well as for cremation.

Anatole France represents Boni speaking thus as he measured some skulls of these prehistoric Romans. Holding in his hand the skull of a child, he says:

"Child, thou who sleepest since the days of the god Quirinus, an Empire has passed over thy coffin and the same stars which shone at thy birth are about to light up the skies above us. The unfathomable space which separates the hours of your life from those of our countrymen constitutes but an imperceptible moment in the life of the universe."

One of the characters in the same book addresses these words to Boni:

"And so, my good Giacomo Boni, not content with seeking in the Forum the monuments of the Emperors, those of the Republic and those of the Kings, you must fain sink down into the soil which bore flora and fauna that have vanished, drive your spade into the quarternery and the tertiary, penetrate the pliocene, the miocene, and the eocene; from Latin archaeology you wander to prehistoric archaeology and to paleontology. The *salons* are expressing alarm at the depths to which you are venturing. Countess Pasolini would like to know where you intend to stop and you are represented in a little satirical sheet as coming out at the antipodes, breathing the words, *Adesso va bene!*"

Boni seemed not to have heard. He was examining a clay vessel, still damp and covered with ooze. His pale-blue, expressive eyes darkened while critically examining the humble work of man for some unrevealed trace of the mysterious past, but resumed their natural hue as the Commendatore's mind wandered off into reverie.

Boni's next task was the supervision of the excavation on the Palatine Hill overlooking the Forum. This was the site of prehistoric Rome. In the time of Cicero and Caesar it was the residential section of the noble Roman families; in the early imperial period it was the abode of the emperors. An Italian scholar, long a resident of London, who visited Boni in 1914 gives this account of him at the period when he was engaged in this work:

I was told that he would probably be found in the Viridarium, the old imperial flower garden, in which he was now collecting all the flowers and plants mentioned by classical Roman writers. On reaching the Viridarium I saw three

workmen bending over flower beds, dressing plants, and upon my asking one of them where the Director could be found, "Here I am," replied one of the gardeners, dressed in plain, rough clothes with a large straw hat on his head, and on being acquainted with my purpose in coming from England, "Do you really want to lecture there on the Palatine?" he asked. "Well, let us go for a walk."

He took me first for a brief visit to his latest discoveries of the Republican houses underlying the *Domus Augustianae* and then the subject which had lately taken hold of his imagination seized him entirely. We visited the *Viridarium*, looking toward the Capitol, the nursery garden of the laurels, cypresses, myrtle, and pine trees; his plantation of violets at the foot of ancient walls; of red and white roses, lilies, and other classical flowers before the temples and in the house of the Vestal Virgins; and the clumps of *cytissus* everywhere among the ruins, with their gold flowers.

In the meantime he was explaining, by abrupt sentences and as if talking to himself, his plan for restoring Latin consciousness through the tangible evocation of the ancient Roman life and spirit.

The Palatine and Forum were not merely palimpsests on which to read the past history of Rome; they were a living, much-needed lesson on the early simplicity of the life of our Roman ancestors and of the fate that befell their degenerate descendants; of the necessity of going back to direct contact with nature by a return to agriculture and the simple life if Italy was to receive a fresh source of inspiration, to be saved morally and economically, and to proceed with newly gathered force to her destiny.

On the Palatine Boni made excavations on the site of Domitian's palace. Here, at a lower level, were discovered

two houses of the republican era, with frescoes and marble statues intact. Another find was the stone slab, the *mundus*, that in early days was believed to close the entrance to the infernal regions. The site of the palace of Augustus was fixed. Valuable results were obtained from the area occupied by Domitian's palace, for many buildings of great historical value had been destroyed in the process of its construction.

It has been noted that Boni's method of procedure was remarkable in that he so successfully disclosed earlier remains without materially damaging later buildings. In this respect he surpassed all his predecessors. In his own land recognition of this great archaeologist came late. Foreign countries showed their marks of appreciation first. He was called to lecture in London, at Oxford, at Cambridge, in Vienna, and in Germany. He was visited, while director of the Forum and Palatine excavations, by all the most distinguished visitors to Rome—emperors, kings and queens, statesmen, churchmen, historians, scientists, men of letters, and, from our own country, an ex-president, Roosevelt, and a president, Wilson. Foreign universities showered honors upon him. Finally his own country made him a senator.

He seems to have charmed by his personality all with whom he came in contact. He had power to impart life to the dry bones of archaeology and to make it speak to others as he had made it speak to himself. He became a man of profound and varied erudition and he was always tireless in his labors.

Beside his early work in connection with the restoration

of the Ducal Palace at Venice, he afterward had full charge there, did work of the same nature in the Basilica of St. Mark, and was commissioned to rebuild the Campanile at Venice when it crumbled with age in 1910. That his advice in regard to the preservation of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel was sought, has already been mentioned.

His adornment of the Forum and the Palatine with a profusion of the shrubs and flowers mentioned in the classics was not his only work in this line. The Vale of Clitumnus, the island of Torcello in the Venetian lagoons, and the waters of the Mincio owe much to his fostering care.

Boni's latest find of interest on the Palatine was a winged figure of Victory. This was discovered during the third year of the World War and Boni viewed it as an augury of his country's ultimate success.

The latter period of his life up to his final breakdown was one of intense activity. As soon as Italy entered the war he eagerly offered his services. He first devised some special boots and clothing calculated to protect the soldiers on the frontier, who were exposed to the rigors of the Alps. He was no less active in reconstruction work after the war. Afforestation, the fight against malaria, the utilization of water power, the perfection of chemical fertilizers, the extension of grain growing, and the substitution of nonalcoholic grape juice for wine were included among his interests.

In 1916 he suffered a stroke of paralysis as the result of exposure to the Alpine cold. He recovered to some extent and resumed his place as director of the Forum and Pala-

tine excavations. His last attack was brought on as the result of fatigue incurred in a five-weeks tour through the Marshes, which he had undertaken to study with the idea of promoting intensive grain culture. He passed away on July 10, 1925.

Probably the most potent influence on his life, in the realm of art, was that of Ruskin; the next, that of Carducci, the greatest Italian poet of modern Italy, who instilled into him his passionate love of his fatherland. His English friend, Wickham Steed, already mentioned, relates that "often on a summer evening or winter night, he would take from the bookshelf a volume of Carducci and read with vibrating voice and gleaming eye, verses from the poem entitled 'Anniversary of the Foundation of Rome.'" Of the verses that he may have read, one can well imagine that he pronounced these with the greatest fervor:

Salve, dea Roma! Chi disconósceti
cerchiato ha il senno di fredda tenebra
e a lui nel reo cuore germoglia
torpida la selva di barbarie,

and particularly the stanza,

Salve dea Roma! Chinato a i ruderi
del Fòro, io seguo con dolci lacrime
e adoro i tuoi sparsi vestigi,
patria, diva, santa genitrice.

III

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY OF THE FIRST CENTURY

THE picture of Roman life in the first century of the empire, drawn almost exclusively as it formerly was from the annals of court life, from the bitter pages of the satirist, or from the indictments of the moral reformer, has been presented either in somber or in lurid hues. It is fortunate, therefore, that we have a means of correcting this impression and of obtaining a saner and more reasonable view of the conditions of life and culture in the civilized world at this period. The material for this reconstruction of our views lies ready at hand in the collection of letters that Pliny sent to his numerous friends and acquaintances of the Roman world.

The historian and careful student, correcting the distorted view in the light of these documents, substantiated as they often are by the evidences of inscriptions, has long ago abandoned the theory that society of the first century was all, or even predominately, corrupt.

So powerful a hold, however, has the genius of Tacitus, the moral reformer, upon the minds of men, so lurid are the colors of Juvenal's scathing indictments, and so scandalous the stories of court life from the pen of Suetonius, that the popular mind still retains a wrong impression of the spirit and ideals of the age. For still, as in the days of Horace,

the human mind exemplifies the truth that "easier 'tis to learn and recollect what moves derision than what claims respect."

The careful observer of French life, though acknowledging the existence of a society for which Catulle Mendès wrote and the truth of the pictures drawn by his pen, is inclined to balance this with René Bazin's representation of ideals of life and to be convinced of the essential soundness of French society.

Were we to base our judgment of American morality upon the life of the smart sets in our large cities, glimpses of which occasionally flash into public view, we might well be pessimists. That such life is the abnormal and the unusual we know. Society in every age presents just these startling contrasts, a fact that is sometimes forgotten in the treatment of the early empire.

We do not deny the essential truth of Tacitus' picture of court intrigue, though often in his moral indignation he has painted characters blacker than they were. We simply say that this was not the whole nor even the fundamental part of Roman life. We do not say that such characters and such excesses as Juvenal describes did not exist. We simply say that this was not the normal thing; if it had been, society must have dissolved from very rottenness long before it did. When we read the satire of Petronius upon the *nouveaux riches*, we recognize its truth and that it still hits off large numbers in the modern world.

We propose as an antidote to describe briefly that phase of Roman society that was fundamentally pure, cultured, and inspired by high ideals of duty and public service and

to draw this picture largely from the pages of Pliny. This evidence will be, to a large extent, concrete, external, indirect. For we have to do not with a philosopher or a writer of commanding genius but simply with a cultured Roman gentleman who has left us, in his sketches, which are largely of provincial and municipal life, a record of priceless historical value.

The evidence, though coming from a man intensely interested in literary activities, one who counted as his friends most of the literary men of the time, is the more valuable because it is the evidence of one engaged in active professional and public life at Rome—a man whose official career culminated in the high and honorable position of imperial governor of the province of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia Minor. Pliny's early active life was spent at Rome, where he held at one time or another all of the more important public offices; he must have been as well informed on politics as any man of his generation.

Political campaigns were carried on with vigor and enthusiasm, and Pliny was himself a good campaigner. He writes and works untiringly in behalf of his friends and gives them his hearty support. He tells of the qualifications of a friend running for the office of tribune, praises his family and his own sterling qualities, and ends with the remark, "I therefore buttonhole my friends and entreat them in his behalf. I make a regular campaign and go from house to house and from public square to public square. I test my powers of persuasion and my influence."

He recommended to the governor of Pannonia for public office a friend whose birth, charm in conversation, skill

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

as a lawyer, and ability as a writer are cited as proofs of his worthiness. We often note with perhaps a shade of envy the high qualifications of Roman officials in respect of official training, mental power, literary ability, general culture, and, as we shall see, high ideals of public service. Pliny also remarks upon the scrupulous conduct of a certain public treasurer, who wrote to the emperor asking what he should do with a sum of money he had received to pay one of his clerks who had died before his salary was due. The emperor referred the case to the senate. A claim was made by the man's heirs, but the senate voted that the sum revert to the treasury.

It is true that the surviving magistracies of the republic, such as the consulate and tribunate, were not the offices of importance they once had been; that, in fact, the incumbents were the ministers of the prince. Within certain limits, nevertheless, these positions admitted of initiative, and the Romans held them in great esteem and had high ideals of the obligations they imposed.

No stronger expression of this sentiment has been uttered than the remarks of Pliny in reference to the tribunate. A friend, a lawyer, had written asking whether he thought it proper for one to engage in private practice while holding that position. Pliny replied that it depended upon how one regarded the office, whether as a sacred, inviolable trust, or as a meaningless shadow. He himself, when tribune, had abstained from pleading private cases for fear that by so doing he might impair the dignity of the office or might not prove so unbiased and fair in the administration of his duties as he should. Perhaps Pliny did view

the dignity of certain public offices with a degree of consideration that their importance at that period did not warrant. It is, however, a laudable weakness and all that he says and does indicates that in his time there was a large element in the state that took an enlightened and lofty view of public duties.

Even levity at public functions Pliny cannot condone. In order to remedy certain abuses the senate had introduced the secret ballot. This gave occasion for unseemly pranks. Some of the voters wrote down their own names instead of those of the candidates. Jokes and even obscenities were found on some of the ballots. Pliny indignantly remarks that depraved characters are led to such a pitch of boldness by the thought that "no one will find it out."

Pliny's conception of the lawyer's profession is no less high. He is not blind to the faults of the day and he complains of the degeneracy of the legal oratory of the time; complains that he is kept busy with civil cases but that he derives little pleasure from his activity as the cases are generally not important and the people involved not distinguished. The careful training of the olden time had given place to a presumption that allowed young men who had not yet perfected themselves as orators to force their way to the bar; the demoralizing practice of securing hired applauders is denounced. Pliny sometimes feels inclined to give up his practice because of these conditions, but he is deterred by a sense of duty and obligation to his friends.

On the other hand, in many letters he speaks enthusiastically of cases in which he is engaged and of the literary appreciation displayed by his audience. The following letter

is quoted as giving a fair example of Pliny's style, as showing the character of the cases that came before the civil court in which he did most of his pleading, and, finally, as aptly depicting Pliny's naïve literary vanity. The letter opens with a line of Vergil that represents Vulcan addressing his Cyclopes and directing them to lay aside all other work and prepare arms for Aeneas. "Cyclopes of Aetna," he cried, "have done! Leave every task unfinished and receive my new command." Pliny continues, addressing his friend:

Thus, whether you are engaged in reading or writing, away with your books and papers and take up my divine oration, as those Cyclopes did the arms of Aeneas. How could I introduce my speech to you with an air of more importance? But in sober earnest I put it into your hand as the best of my performances; for it is myself only that I pretend to emulate. It was spoken in defense of Attia Variola, and the dignity of the person interested, the singularity of the occasion, together with the majesty of the tribunal, conspire to render it extremely remarkable. Picture to yourself a lady ennobled not only by her birth but by her marriage to a person of praetorian rank, disinherited by her father and suing for her patrimony in the four courts eleven days after this old man, seized with a grand passion at fourscore years of age, had brought home a step-mother to his daughter. One hundred and eighty judges sat at the trial (for that is the number when the four chambers of the court sit together); friends innumerable attended both parties; the benches were thronged and a dense crowd encircled the whole court in a promiscuous ring; at the same time numbers pressed about the tribunal; even the very galleries were lined with men and women bending over (who, though they

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

might see fairly well, could be barely able to hear a word); in fact, fathers, daughters, and stepmothers were all warmly interesting themselves in the issue of this important trial. The opinions of the judges were divided, two of the chambers being for us and two against us. It is somewhat remarkable that the same question debated before the same judges and pleaded by the same advocates and at the same time should happen to receive so different a decision, in fact one would almost imagine it was more than accident. However, in the final event, the mother-in-law, who claimed under the will a sixth part of the inheritance, lost the case. Her son was also denied his pretensions; though he had been disinherited by his own father without daring to vindicate his own patrimony, yet he had the singular assurance to demand that of another. I have been thus particular in giving you a detail of the circumstances that attended this case, not only that my letter might inform you of what you could not learn by my speech but also (for I will honestly confess the artifice) that you might read it with more pleasure, by being thus introduced, as it were, into the audience. And, extensive as this pleading is, I do not despair of its recommending itself to you as much as if it had the grace of brevity. The abundance of the matter, the just order in which it is arranged, the little narratives interspersed throughout, together with the variety of style, will always give it an air of novelty. I will even venture to say to you (what I dare not to anyone else) that a spirit of great fire and sublimity breaks out in many parts of it, at the same time that in others it is wrought up with much delicacy and closeness of reasoning. I was frequently obliged to intermingle my computations with the elevated and pathetic and to descend from the orator almost to the accountant; so that you will sometimes imagine the scene was changed from the solemnity of the court of four chambers to

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

the familiarity of a private consultation. I gave head to my indignation, my resentment, and my compassion, and in steering through this illustrious case as in a vast sea, I was borne along before every varying gust. In a word, my particular friends are wont to consider this speech, I will venture to repeat, as my best performance, esteeming it the Ctesiphon of my orations; whether with reason or not, you will easily judge, since you have them all so perfectly in your memory as to be able, while you are reading them, to compare it with my former efforts without the trouble of turning to them. Farewell.

Elsewhere Pliny relates that during a civil suit he was conducting the crowd was so great that he was obliged to cross the presiding officer's platform to reach his place and that a young gentleman whose tunic was torn in the press remained there during the seven hours that he spoke.

In matters of style Pliny was an avowed disciple of Cicero. His epistolary style is sparkling and effective, but bears evidence of painstaking care. His speeches have all perished except his panegyric upon Trajan, which can hardly be a fair example of his legal oratory.

The great state trials, such as those in which provincial governors were arraigned before the senate for maladministration, offered great opportunities for capable lawyers. Pliny appeared in at least three such cases, the most famous of which was his prosecution, in behalf of the province of Africa, of Marius Priscus, a case which, for importance and dignity, can be compared to that of Cicero against Verres, governor of Sicily, or to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, governor of India, in modern times.

As remarked before, there was scarcely a man of literary eminence at Rome whom Pliny did not know, and we find

enough material touching literary men and tendencies in the letters to fill a volume. At this point it will suffice to say that educated Romans of literary tastes at this period, more than before, devoted themselves to the cultivation of poetry. This was due to their type of education, in which the study of the poets was the *pièce de résistance* during the formative period of the pupil's life, as well as to the loss of free republican life and the consequent curtailing of public interests.

Ancient publishing houses had but indifferent means of bringing new works to the notice of the public and it became the custom, and in Pliny's time the fashion, for an author to give a recitation when he desired to announce a new work. Pliny regarded attendance at such functions as a social obligation of the most binding sort. He rarely finds fault with the members of his own circle, but he does criticize the careless and perfunctory way in which some of his acquaintances perform this duty. Why, some of them go so far as to slip out of the room and remain in the garden until informed by their footmen, whom they have stationed at a strategic point for the purpose, of the approaching end of the reading! Then some of them slip in unnoticed, while others swagger in as though they did not think it worth while to conceal their efforts to escape boredom. It was in reference to another function of the sort, where one of the audience upset the gravity of the occasion by venturing a joke (a very mild one, by the way), that Pliny remarks that "if one is to give a recitation he must be careful not only to have good sense himself, but to see that none but perfectly sensible people are invited."

Social duties imposed by strict Roman etiquette were very exacting and Pliny often complains of the time consumed in this manner. Morning receptions, ceremonies of investiture of the toga and of the sealing of wills, visits of congratulation on occasions of every official success, betrothal ceremonies, marriages—Pliny is glad when he can flee to the country and avoid the incessant round.

The betrothal ceremonies were, as in pre-revolutionary Russia, somewhat formal occasions. We have an instructive letter by Pliny in reply to a request that he keep his eye open for a suitable match for the daughter of one of his distinguished friends, now deceased. It is of course understood that the arrangements for a marriage among the Romans of position, as among the peoples of the continent of Europe, were all made by the families and not by the individuals immediately concerned. The letter indicates the qualities considered desirable in a husband. Pliny had in mind an ideal mate, he says, a young man descended from an honorable and ancient family. He had already held the principal offices of state, thus freeing his prospective relatives from the obligation of assisting him in attainment of them. Acilius himself is in robust health, full-blooded, active, of good character; he has the manners of a gentleman and a dignified carriage. Pliny remarks that the modesty of maidens should at least be rewarded with a husband of personal attractiveness. He states further that the gentleman has ample means and suggests that perhaps, in view of the character of the families interested, he should not mention this; but as a matter of fact it is something that must be taken into account, for even the laws of

the state have fixed ranks in society on the basis of possessions and then, too, there will be fairly expensive establishments to keep up.

The establishments that a Roman of Pliny's position maintained were both numerous and elaborate. Pliny himself was not very wealthy, but he possessed several estates and houses in Italy. Of one of these, a fine villa on the seashore at Laurentum, he gives us a detailed account. It was to such retreats that he loved to retire at times to avoid the social duties of the capitol.

The Laurentian villa was a winter house where he spent some months each year. It was but seventeen miles from Rome and when Pliny was very busy he found it quite possible to travel back and forth daily, on horseback or in a carriage. This villa was therefore convenient and, as he remarked, not very expensive to keep up. Passing through the courtyard, we find ourselves in another court formed by semicircular porticos on either side. These are provided with windows making the court cozy and warm. Passing through a pleasant main room, we come to a handsome hall running toward the seashore. On every side of this hall are French windows, permitting a view of the sea from three sides; from the fourth we can look back through the villa to the woods and mountains beyond. On the left is a large drawing room and beyond this a second room, so arranged that one window receives the rays of the rising sun and another those of the setting sun. In a protected angle formed by the dining room and this drawing-room is the family gymnasium, near which is a semicircular room so arranged as to receive the sun all day long. The

walls are provided with cases containing a collection of those authors that one likes to read and re-read. Next is a bedroom, heated by a hot air flue from the furnace. The rest of this side of the house is devoted to the slaves and freedmen of the family. In the opposite wing is a tasteful bedroom and a small dining room. The elaborate bath to which the Romans were addicted, with its hot room, cooling room, hot and cold plunge, swimming pool, rubbing room, and so forth, is situated in this wing.

The villa is provided with a number of large and small dining rooms, a tennis court, a running track, storehouses, a well-supplied kitchen garden, and other accessories that we may not stop to enumerate. Pliny's house was doubtless tastefully furnished, although the Romans used far less furniture than we do. Pliny was somewhat of an admirer of works of art and he grows enthusiastic over a piece of that famous compound of gold, silver, and copper known as Corinthian bronze. This particular piece, an antique, represented in a most realistic manner the figure of an aged man—the thin, receding hair, pinched face, shrivelled limbs—all true to life. Pliny purchased this, not to adorn his own home, but to erect in a public place in his native city, Como, for all to enjoy.

The obligations imposed upon wealth, which had always been heavy at Rome, were guarded by a strong public sentiment. During the period we are considering there developed a great broadening of viewpoint as to the scope of public obligations, and there was displayed a spirit of philanthropy and humanitarianism that may without exaggeration be compared to that of the present time. The zeal of

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

private citizens for beautifying their cities has never been surpassed. Inscriptions at Pompeii and upon the stones of the ruins of Greek cities in the Orient give an idea of the exalted sense of state obligation felt by the well-to-do during this period. It was a private citizen who bore the cost of an aqueduct for Bordeaux, a cost estimated at eight hundred thousand dollars, and another expended four hundred thousand on the walls of Marseilles.

We need not be surprised, then, to hear that among public acts of generosity and philanthropy, too numerous to enumerate, were Pliny's endowment of an orphan asylum at Como and his gift of fifty thousand dollars for a public library and one of five thousand dollars for its endowment. He offered to pay one-third of the salary of a competent teacher to start a school at Como, so that the young men of the place need not go to Milan, as they were doing, for their education. He said that he would gladly have given the whole amount had he not wished to make the parents partners in the transaction and thus doubly insure the selection of a capable teacher. He wanted to keep the matter free from politics, which sometimes plays a part when teachers are selected by the state. He urged that as large a contribution as possible be made, for he was desirous that his third should be no insignificant sum.

He gave a public bath and provided a fund for an annual public banquet. He was as generous toward individuals. We find him giving fifteen thousand dollars to a fellow townsman that he might have enough to qualify for the Order of Knights. At another time he contributed five thousand dollars toward the wedding dowry of the daugh-

ter of Quintilian, and he helped Athenodorus, the philosopher, to satisfy his pressing creditors.

Pliny's kindness is revealed particularly in his treatment of his slaves. All Romans were not hard taskmasters. Stoic philosophy, which had assumed the position of a religion for the thinking men of the time, strongly emphasized the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, and Pliny's solicitude for the welfare of his dependents argues well for the spirit of humanity abroad in that age. He remarks:

The sickness which has lately run through my family and carried off several of my domestics, some of them, too, in the prime of their years, has deeply afflicted me. I have two consolations, however, which, though they are not equal to so considerable a grief, still are consolations. One is that as I have always very readily manumitted my slaves their death does not seem altogether untimely, if they live long enough to receive their freedom; the other that I have allowed them to make a will, which I observe as religiously as if they were legally entitled to that privilege. I receive and obey their last requests as so many authoritative commands, suffering them to dispose of their effects to whom they please—with this single restriction, that they leave them to members of the same household, which, to persons of their station, is to be esteemed a sort of commonwealth. But though I endeavor to acquiesce under these inflictions, yet the same tenderness which led me to show them these indulgences still breaks out and overpowers my strongest resolutions. However, I could not wish to be insensible to these soft impressions of humanity; though the generality of the world, I know, look upon losses of this kind in no other view than as diminution of their property and fancies that by cherishing such an unfeeling temper they dis-

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

cover a superior fortitude and good sense. Their wisdom and self-control I shall not dispute. But manly, I am sure, they are not; for it is the very criterion of manhood to feel those impressions of sorrow which it endeavors to resist; and to admit, not to be above, the need of consolation. Farewell.

Elsewhere he remarks that his slaves have grown somewhat careless and adds that a long course of mild treatment is apt to weaken the impression of awe in servants.

Pliny had been appointed one of the heirs of a Roman lady and by virtue of this, according to Roman law, one of the executors of the estate. It appeared that in her will she had written, among her bequests, these words: "To Modestus, whom I have ordered to be freed, I bequeath, etc." Now the lady had evidently neglected to make the slave free, and hence, according to Roman law, he could not receive the legacy. Pliny decided that the slave should be freed and writes to his fellow executor:

I am persuaded you will join me in these sentiments, since you so scrupulously regard the will of the dead, which, indeed, where it can be discovered, will always be law to an honorable mind. Honor is, to you and me, as strong an obligation as necessity, to others. Let Modestus, therefore, enjoy his freedom and his legacy in as full a manner as if the lady had observed all the requisite forms, as indeed they effectually do who choose their heirs with discretion.

Pliny's solicitude for the health of his freedman, Zosimus, is strikingly expressed in the following letter, which will serve to conclude the remarks upon his attitude toward his dependents:

As I know the humanity with which you treat your own servants, I do not scruple to confess to you the indulgence I

show to mine. I have ever in my mind Homer's character of Ulysses, "who loved his people with a father's love." And the very expression in our language for the head of a family, *pater familias*, suggests the rule of one's conduct toward it. But were I naturally of a rough and hardened cast of temper, the ill state of health of my freedman Zosimus (who has the stronger claim to humane treatment at my hands, as he now stands much in need of it) would be sufficient to soften me. He is a person of great worth, diligent in his services and well skilled in literature; but his chief talent and, indeed, his profession, is that of a comedian, wherein he highly excels. He speaks with great emphasis, judgment, propriety, and grace; he has a very good hand, too, upon the lyre, which he understands better than is necessary for one of his profession. To this I must add, he reads history, oratory, and poetry as well as if he had singly applied himself to that art. I am thus particular in enumerating his qualifications that you may see how many agreeable services I receive from him. He is endeared to me by ties of strong affection, which seem to be heightened by the danger he is now in; for nature has so formed our hearts that nothing contributes more to raise and inflame our inclinations for any enjoyment than the apprehension of being deprived of it, a sentiment which Zosimus has given me occasion to experience more than once. Some years ago he strained himself by too vehement an exertion of his voice and suffered a slight hemorrhage, upon which account I sent him into Egypt; whence, after a long absence he lately returned, greatly benefited in health. But again through overexertion he was reminded of his former malady by a return of his cough, accompanied by hemorrhage. For this reason I intend to send him to your farm at Forum Julii, which I have frequently heard you men-

tion as having exceedingly fine air, and I remember your recommending the milk of that place as very good for disorders of this nature. I beg you to give directions to your people to receive him into your house and to supply him with what he shall have occasion for, which will not be much, for he is so temperate as not only to abstain from delicacies but even to deny himself the necessaries his ill state of health requires. I shall furnish toward his journey what will be sufficient for one of his abstemious turn who is coming under your roof. Farewell.

Something of the character of a civilization is surely indicated by its attitude toward and its treatment of women. Seneca, the greatest moral teacher of this time, believed in the equal capacity of women for culture, even in the field of philosophy. The Roman matron always held an honorable and respected position in the eyes of the state and at this time the woman of property had complete economic independence, since her dower could be kept intact for her own use. Divorce was secured with the greatest ease, and the mere wish of the parties concerned secured freedom from the matrimonial bond. That such freedom was abused cannot be denied, but to offset Juvenal's awful picture of wicked women we have examples of admirable female character to draw from in the pages of Pliny.

His letters to his wife, Calpurnia, are full of expressions of pure devotion and tenderness and are composed in the most perfect taste. Writing to the aunt of Calpurnia, he thanks her for the interest she had taken in bringing up and in forming the character of the orphaned girl who afterward became his wife. She had developed into a

woman of great mental keenness and a careful household manager. Her devotion to literature had been intensified by the knowledge that her husband felt a keen interest in the subject. Concealed from the audience, she used often to listen to Pliny when he was reading his literary productions. Her anxious interest in his success impelled her to station couriers in court when her husband had an important case there, that she might, at the earliest opportunity, be informed of the outcome.

She was a musician and she set to music and sang Pliny's lyrics. His highest praise to her was that she loved not his years, which were transitory, nor his bodily frame, which would wither, but his character, which was eternal. His solicitude when she was in ill health and was obliged to leave Rome while he was detained there, was extreme. He was restless and ill at ease; her image rose before him by night, and at the wonted hour by day his feet carried him to her vacant apartments.

There must have been other Roman girls of as bright promise as the daughter of Fondanus, whose untimely death Pliny mourns. She was only fourteen years old, but she united with her girlish sweetness a matronly dignity. She dearly loved her father and used to receive his friends with affection and maidenly reserve; and to her nurses, tutors, and teachers she showed tender and deferential regard. She was eager, industrious, and intelligent and a great reader. And in her last illness, without thought of complaint, she obeyed the directions of her physicians and spoke cheerfully and comfortingly to her sister and father. Even when her bodily strength was exhausted, the vigor

of her mind, unbroken by the pain of a long illness or the terrors of approaching death, sustained her. The pathos of the occurrence was enhanced by the fact that she was engaged to an excellent young man, the day of the wedding had been set, and Pliny and her other friends had been bidden to attend.

Pliny's best-known letters include the one that tells of the death of his uncle, Pliny the Elder, the naturalist, in the eruption of Vesuvius in 59 A. D., when Herculaneum and Pompeii were buried; a second, describing his personal experiences at the time; and an official letter to the emperor in reference to the treatment of Christians.

The Roman scholar's devotion to knowledge is nowhere better shown than in the conduct of Pliny the Elder on the occasion of this great catastrophe. He was at the time of the eruption admiral of the Roman fleet stationed at Misenum. He immediately proceeded to the scene of devastation, inspired by scientific interest and humane feeling, for he wished not only to view the phenomenon at close range but also to assist the panic-stricken fugitives. He carefully noted and dictated to his secretary as he proceeded the various manifestations of the phenomenon. His death was due to suffocation resulting from breathing the sulphurous fumes from the crater. Pliny has also left us a very detailed account of the mode of life and intense application of this scholar. He generally rose at midnight and worked until shortly before dawn, when he would wait upon the Emperor Vespasian, who also used to work by night. The day was divided among various duties with great care, that no time might be wasted. Even during the bath, or a part of

it, he had his secretary read to him, and he often dictated and wrote while traveling. It was this application that permitted him to compose, even in the midst of an intensely active public life, his many works, all of which have perished except his monumental work on natural history. Pliny the nephew was about eighteen years of age when his uncle died; in fact, he was with his uncle at Misenum, but had stayed behind with his mother. He leaves a vivid description of the horrors that attended the earthquake.

The other letter mentioned, that relating to the Christians, belongs to the end of Pliny's career. He had been made governor general of the eastern province of Bithynia and as such was the emperor's representative. His chief task was to straighten out the financial difficulties in which the province had become entangled. The collection of official letters that passed between Pliny and Trajan on matters pertaining to the government of the province constitutes one of the most valuable and illuminating historical documents left us from the ancient world. The activities therein indicated may be taken as illustrative of the activities of the innumerable Roman officials spread over the world. Their tasks were for the most part performed in silence and their lives passed in strict attention to duty; only the stones of mined cities are mute witnesses to the fidelity and effectiveness of their work.

Besides the ordinary legal investigations and questions, problems of every sort met the governor. The way in which Pliny coped with them, even if it does not indicate administrative talents of the highest type, at least leaves us with a feeling of admiration for the sound judgment, mod-

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

eration, and justice of the Roman official. Immediately upon his arrival in the province he wrote the emperor that it would be well to send out experienced engineers to take accurate measurements of public works. He had been looking into the accounts of the town of Prusa and felt convinced that if such measurements were taken the state could recover considerable sums from contractors. He also found the public bath in a dilapidated condition. The people, through Pliny, asked permission to restore it, and Pliny vouched that money would be forthcoming, as he was recovering certain sums due the state from private individuals.

Pliny evidently emphasized the necessity of having skilled architects and engineers available to prevent faulty construction and to avoid consequent loss to cities. He cites the instance of Nicomedia, which spent a hundred and fifty thousand dollars on an aqueduct that had ultimately to be abandoned. On a second unsuccessful enterprise ten thousand dollars more were squandered. Pliny himself went to the spot, examined the ground, located a suitable source, and told how the water could be brought down. "But," he writes the emperor, "it is necessary that you should send an inspector of aqueducts or an architect to prevent a third fiasco." The same idea is emphasized in connection with works in the city of Nicaea. A theater, nearly completed at a cost of about five hundred thousand dollars, showed in its walls cracks, due either to faulty material or to weak foundations. Pliny thought that the buttresses and substructure were expensive but worthless, and the question he had to decide was whether or not to

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

abandon the work. Basilicas and colonnades for the building had been promised by private individuals, but at the time everything was at a standstill. A gymnasium was also in course of construction in the city but the plans were bad, and an architect whom Pliny privately consulted stated that though the walls were twenty-two feet thick they were too weak to support the structure, being made of concrete without the proper facing of brick. All this lent force to Pliny's plea that an architect be sent from Rome to decide what had best be done.

Pliny's interest in the financial welfare of his cities is further seen in his desire to invest the public funds as advantageously as possible. He states that there are few opportunities of investing public funds in lands and that borrowers at the usual rate of interest, 12 per cent, do not offer themselves. He suggests lowering the rate of interest and thus attracting investors. Another plan is rather unique but is suggestive of the feeling of obligation to the state, namely, that of forcing the members of the senates of the various towns to borrow the surplus funds. Trajan agreed to the first proposition, but, with his usual good sense, stated that to compel men to borrow money against their will, when perhaps they have no means of employing it, "is inconsistent with the justice of the age in which we live." It may be remarked in passing that in the second century this very scheme of which Trajan disapproved was put into practice.

In looking into the accounts of the Byzantines, Pliny found an item of six hundred dollars for the payment of

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

an ambassador who was sent yearly to salute the emperor. Pliny sent the salutation without the ambassador, to diminish the expense, as he remarks, without omitting the compliment. He found another item of a hundred and fifty dollars for the traveling expenses of an ambassador sent each year to salute the governor of Moesia. This, too, was stricken from the budget.

Engineering problems of considerable magnitude were investigated. The emperor had expressed the fear that a certain lake in the vicinity of Nicaea might be drained dry should Pliny construct a canal that had been projected to join the lake with a navigable river flowing into the sea. After a careful consideration of the problem, Pliny stated that he felt sure that by damming up another river flowing from the lake the volume of water could be maintained. Another plan he suggested was to make the proposed canal narrower and to connect it directly with the sea, in which case the flow of the tide would prevent the draining of the lake. To be perfectly sure of the matter he again called for a surveyor from Rome, for he seems to have had great faith in the engineers from the metropolis. Trajan on one occasion suggested to him that there must be capable men in the provinces and stated that he could ill spare any from the city.

Other problems of administration were constantly coming up. When Nicomedia was visited by a destructive conflagration, it was found upon investigation that the city possessed no fire pumps or other appliances for fighting fire. Pliny ordered that the necessary apparatus be secured

and wrote asking permission of the emperor to have a company of one hundred and fifty firemen formed. The emperor did not approve of this and wrote in reply:

We must remember that your province has been especially disturbed by factions arising from just such combinations. Whatever name they bear, it is almost inevitable that men so united will become a political club. It will be better, therefore, to supply the necessary apparatus and in case of fire to warn landlords to take precautions for themselves, making use, if necessary, of the populace in extinguishing fires.

It was for the same reason that, when Pliny asked whether he should frown upon the practice of distributing gifts to large numbers on the occasion of weddings and other ceremonies, the emperor wrote:

You are right in fearing lest the custom of general invitations should lead to corrupt practices if the guests are invited to these festivities collectively rather than individually. But I have appointed you for the express purpose of influencing the manners and customs of the province, and you must take such measures as are necessary to its lasting tranquillity.

These notes of the emperor throw interesting side lights upon the attitude of the government toward the trade unions, so many of which had sprung up in the Roman Empire at this period. It was under the general edict forbidding the formation of guilds except by imperial sanction that Pliny forbade the gatherings of Christians in his province.

Pliny's vigilant eye was everywhere watchful for the public welfare and he was constantly guarding against abuses.

PLINY AND ROMAN SOCIETY

The Romans maintained a magnificent system of public roads and on these roads imperial post relays for the transmission of public dispatches and the convenience of officials. Their use was always authorized by written imperial orders. Pliny asks the emperor whether he shall recognize orders the dates of which have expired and if so, for how long after the expiration. The emperor's reply is terse: "Passports the dates of which have expired ought not to be used and so I make it a strict rule always to send out new ones before they can possibly be requested."

An endeavor has been made to draw in brief outline that phase of Roman society fundamentally pure, cultured, and inspired by high ideals of duty and public service. We acknowledge that the influence of the existing type of court life must have been demoralizing and that the influence of a Vespasian, a Trajan, a Hadrian, a Marcus Aurelius must have been elevating; but there persisted a strong, conservative Roman element, which made a vigorous stand against the vices of the time. This strain, permeating all parts of Roman society, is reflected in the pages of Pliny.

It was this background that made the stand against disintegrating influences as effective as it was. No period in history is so fraught with meaning for the American republic as the last century of the Roman republic and the first century of the empire. The disciples of Stoicism, the purest and strongest moral force of the Roman world, waged unrelenting war against the corrupting influences of the age—a fight that made it possible for the Western Empire to live for another four hundred years. It was the ultimate

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

prevalence of a thoroughly materialized civilization that brought the end.

We may express the hope that the moral forces of the present age, fighting against exactly the same peril, may prove more successful; but a more valiant and stubborn fight than that made by the Roman worthies we can scarcely expect to see.

IV

SENECA

THE man whom history knows as Seneca the Philosopher is more appropriately termed by Dante *Seneca Morale*, for in the words of a brilliant but very sound historian of Latin literature, "as a practical exponent of morals he stands with Plutarch at the head of all Greek and Roman writers." "Practical" is a fitting word, for few writers have known the human heart so well and few have been able by precept to fortify it more strongly against the assaults of fortune than he.

No less striking was the position he held as a man of letters in his own day. Finally, strange to say, in a line of work so little recognized by his contemporaries that Quintilian, the great Roman critic, in enumerating his works omits mention of the tragedies, he exercised an influence upon the dramatists of the Renaissance that can scarcely be exaggerated.

He belonged to a learned and distinguished family. Both his father, Seneca the Rhetorician or Orator, and his mother, Helvia, were Spaniards, natives of Corduba (the modern Cordova), where he himself was born. The mother's family was one of position, through whose influence his advance in public life was doubtless facilitated. The year of his birth was approximately that of Jesus of Nazareth. When he was two years old his father took him to

Rome. The baby was in charge of his mother's sister, who was afterward for sixteen years the first lady of Egypt, being the wife of its prefect. Seneca was educated in Rome and spent practically his whole life there.

The family continued to reside in Spain. The father was a man of marvelous memory and could, he himself tells us, repeat as many as two thousand words that he had heard once pronounced. This makes the book of literary, or perhaps we should say professional, reminiscences that he wrote at an advanced age at the request of his sons very interesting and valuable. The only portions left are ten books of *controversiae* and one of *suasoriae*. These terms *controversiae* and *suasoriae* demand a passing notice, as they are the names of the two forms of rhetorical exercises by which the youth of that time were trained, and the kind of style they tended to produce will help us to understand the striking style of Seneca himself and the influence he exercised by virtue of it. This type of training will largely explain also the declamatory character of the tragedies that go by the name "Senecan."

In the days of the republic the chief aim in education was the production of the effective orator—particularly the legal orator. Such rhetorical training as there was, was based upon cases (*causae*), modeled as closely as possible upon the real cases pleaded in the courts. Tacitus, in his "Dialogue on Oratory," correctly attributed the decline of eloquence at Rome to the loss of political freedom. In harmony with this idea the type of education was changed. The *causae* or cases were replaced by the *controversiae* and the *suasoriae*.

The *controversia* was an exercise in argumentation, sometimes for, sometimes against, a claim made in an imaginary dispute. To stimulate ingenuity the pupil might argue first for and then against the claim. A typical subject is this: A valuable slave has been disguised and passed off as a free man by his owner to avoid import duty at Brindisi. Having been formally declared free before witnesses, is he entitled to claim the freedom? Many of the cases cited by Seneca are rather far-fetched and involve situations in which tyrants, pirates, unnatural fathers, and cruel step-mothers play the chief rôle. Their romantic character may be inferred from the fact that many of them are employed in that collection of novels and stories so popular in the Middle Ages, the *Gesta Romanorum*. As the themes were hackneyed, the important thing was not so much what was said as how it was said.

The *suasoria* usually took the form of a declamation embodying a piece of advice given by the pupil to some historical character. For example: Shall Cicero burn his *Philippics* and plead with Antony for his life? Shall Leonidas withdraw from Thermopylae? Historical knowledge, dramatic imagination, psychological insight, and above all style, were required.

In this connection may be mentioned a social phenomenon of the age that contributed to the artificiality of style. It was the custom of authors to give readings or recitations of their productions to invited friends—presumably to elicit criticism but in reality to impress the audience with the brilliancy of the performer.

To return to the family of Seneca. His brother, Annaeus

Mela, was the father of Lucan, author of the epic *Pharsalia*. An elder brother, Novatus, is known to history as Gallio—the Gallio who was governor of Achæia and who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and the Gallio who gives the title to an episode in *The White Stone* of Anatole France, that marvelous re-creation of classical philosophy and life! Spain contributed these sons of hers to Rome and not only these but, it will be remembered, Martial, Columella, and Quintilian as well.

The young Seneca devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and became a distinguished pleader at the bar. His brilliancy excited the jealousy of the mad tyrant Caligula, and on the advice of his father he devoted himself to the study of philosophy—first to the Stoic system and afterward to that of the Pythagoreans. In accordance with the teachings of the latter he became for a time a vegetarian. The father warned his son that the peculiar views of this school might lay him open to the charge of being a Jew (by which he meant a Christian), and Seneca remarks that his father had little difficulty in persuading him to dine better. At Caligula's death Seneca resumed his career at the bar.

The brilliant young lawyer was well known at the court of Claudius. Dissension arose between the dissolute and cruel Empress Messalina and Julia, the beautiful and ambitious niece of the emperor. Seneca seems to have sided with Julia, who was subsequently banished. The charge of adultery with Julia was brought against Seneca, and by decree of the senate he was banished to the barren island of Corsica, where he lived for eight years. Here he devoted

himself to the study of philosophy—to Stoicism, the school to which he had first been attracted and to which he was most indebted. Here he worked out that mild form of Stoicism of general application that, in the words of one critic, "has made its teaching, with all its imperfection, the purest and noblest of antiquity."

After Messalina's death, Claudius' fourth wife (mother of Nero by a former husband) secured the recall of Seneca, who became tutor to the young Nero, now eleven years old and destined to be the successor of Claudius. Mother, son, and tutor seemed to work in harmony, and Seneca's task was apparently well performed at this period. As yet he did not have to face those dilemmas that inevitably confront a statesman who is also a philosopher.

Nero became emperor at the age of seventeen and the government of the Roman world was to all intents intrusted to Seneca and to Burrus, commander of the Praetorian Guard—a blunt soldier but a man of sterling character. It is well known that the just and moderate rule of Nero during the first five years of his reign is attributed by historians to the wise direction of the two mentors.

Seneca held high office culminating in the consulship. His imperial master showered gifts upon him, and during the first four years of Nero's rule he accumulated a fortune of fifteen million dollars—a staggering amount for those days. Seneca ruled the destinies of the empire for ten years, the last five of which severely taxed his patience, his tact, and his virtue.

Nero decided to free himself from the control of the imperious queen mother who had secured the succession for

him. Seneca could not mediate; he cast his lot with Nero. Whether he was really cognizant of the plot to murder the empress we do not know, but we do know that he composed the letter that Nero sent to the senate justifying the deed.

All the world knows of the wild career of Nero after this crime. Historians tell us that the empire with its provinces was well governed despite the corruption at court. To what extent this was due to the influence of Seneca and Burrus at this time is a matter of conjecture. Burrus, commander of the Praetorian Guard and second in power and influence to the emperor himself, died in 63 A. D. Deprived of his support, Seneca's position became perilous, as it was only too evident that Nero wished to rid himself of this remaining restraint. Seneca asked permission to give up his fortune and retire, but formal retirement was refused. During the last three years of his life he lived practically in retirement, however, devoting himself to philosophic contemplation and writing. Nero attempted to have him poisoned, a plot frustrated because of the abstemiousness and caution of Seneca.

The widespread Pisonian conspiracy, whose purpose was the assassination of Nero and the transfer of the empire to Calpurnius Piso, the head of an illustrious Roman family, was the pretext that the emperor seized. Many were involved and Seneca, among others, was directed by imperial order to end his life. The manner in which he met death may be narrated in the restrained but striking words of Tacitus:¹

¹ Ramsay's rendering is followed.

Then came the death of Annaeus Seneca, which gave great joy to Nero: not that he had any clear evidence of his guilt, but because he could now do by the sword what he had failed to do by poison. The sole witness against him was Natalis, and his evidence only came to this, that he had been sent to see Seneca when ill and to complain of his refusing to see Piso. "It would be better," he had said, "for such old friends to keep up their habits of intercourse." To this Seneca had replied that frequent meetings and conversations would do neither of them any good: but that his own welfare depended on Piso's safety.

Gavius Silvanus, tribune of the Praetorian Cohort, was ordered to take the report of this incident to Seneca and to ask him whether he admitted the correctness of the question of Natalis and of his own answer to it. Either by chance or purposely, it happened that Seneca was returning on that day from Campania and had halted at a suburban villa four miles from Rome. Thither, toward evening, the tribune proceeded; and having surrounded the house with soldiers, he delivered the emperor's message to Seneca when he was at table with his wife, Pompeia Paulina, and two friends.

Seneca's reply was that Natalis had been sent to complain on behalf of Piso that he was not permitted to visit him; and he had tendered in excuse the state of his health and his love of quiet. As to his reason for regarding the welfare of a private individual as of more value than his own safety, he had had none. He was not a man addicted to flattery: and that no one knew better than Nero himself, who had more often found him too free than too servile in his utterances. On receiving this report from the tribune in the presence of Poppaea and Tigellinus, who formed the emperor's inner council of cruelty, Nero asked whether Seneca was preparing to put an end to himself.

The tribune declared that he had observed no sign of alarm or dejection in Seneca's face or language. He was therefore ordered to go back and tell him he must die.

Fabius Rusticus states that the tribune did not return by the same road by which he had come, but that he went out of his way to see Faenius, the prefect; and having shown him Caesar's order, asked him whether he should obey it; and that Faenius, with that fatal weakness which had come over them all, told him to execute his orders. For Silvanus himself was one of the conspirators, and he was now adding one more crime to those which he had conspired to avenge. But he spared his own eyes and tongue, sending in one of the centurions to announce to Seneca that his last hour was come.

Seneca, undismayed, asked for his will; but this the centurion refused. Then, turning to his friends, he called them to witness that, being forbidden to requite them for their services, he was leaving to them the sole, and yet the noblest, possession that remained to him—the pattern of his life. If they bore that in mind, they would win for themselves a name for virtue as the reward of their devoted friendship. At one moment he would check their tears with conversation; at another he would brace up their courage by high-strung language of rebuke, asking where was now their philosophy? Where was that attitude towards the future which they had rehearsed for so many years? To whom was Nero's cruelty unknown? What was left for one who had murdered his mother and his brother but to slay his guardian and teacher also?

Having discoursed thus as if to the whole company, he embraced his wife, and abating somewhat of his tone of high courage, he implored her to moderate her grief and not cling to it for ever: Let the contemplation of her husband's life of virtue afford her noble solace in her bereavement.

She, however, announced her resolve to die with him and called on the operator to do his part. Seneca would not thwart her noble ambition; and he loved her too dearly to expose her to insult after he was gone. "I have pointed out to thee," he said, "how thou mayest soothe thy life; but if thou prefer a noble death, I will not begrudge thee the example. Let us both share the fortitude of thus nobly dying: but thine shall be the nobler end."

A single incision of the knife opened the arm of each, but as Seneca's aged body, reduced by spare living, would scarcely let the blood escape, he opened the veins of his knees and ankles also. Worn out at last by the pain and fearing to break down his wife's courage by his suffering or to lose his own self-command at the sight of hers, he begged her to move into another chamber. But even in his last moments his eloquence did not fall; he called his secretaries to his side and dictated to them many things which being published in his own words I deem it needless to reproduce.

Nero, however, had no personal dislike to Paulina; and, not wishing to add to his character for cruelty, he ordered her death to be stayed. So, at the bidding of the soldiers, the slaves and freedmen tied up her arms and stopped the flow of blood; perhaps she was unconscious. But with that alacrity to accept the worst version of a thing which marks the vulgar, some believed that so long as she thought Nero would be implacable she clutched at the glory of sharing her husband's death, but that when the hope of a reprieve presented itself the attractions of life proved too strong for her. She lived on for a few years more, worthily cherishing her husband's memory; but the pallor of her face and limbs showed how much vitality had gone out of her.

Meanwhile Seneca, in the agonies of a slow and lingering

death, implored Statius Annaeus, his tried and trusted friend and physician, to produce a poison with which he had long provided himself, being the same as that used for public executions at Athens. The draught was brought and administered, but to no purpose; the limbs were too cold, the body too numb, to let the poison act. At last, he was put into a warm bath; and as he sprinkled the slaves about him he added, "This libation is to Jupiter the Liberator!" He was then carried into the hot vapour bath, and perished of suffocation. His body was burnt without any funeral ceremony, in accordance with instructions about his end which he had inserted in his will in the heyday of his wealth and power.

Seneca's many extant works are chiefly philosophic. These consist of: (1) a series of essays whose titles sufficiently indicate their character: "On Anger," "Clemency," "Benefits," "Calmness of Mind," "A Happy Life," "The Shortness of Life," "Providence," and so forth; (2) letters of condolence, called *Consolationes*, of which the finest is that addressed to his mother, Helvia, from his place of exile in Corsica; (3) a collection of one hundred and twenty-four letters addressed to Lucilius—generally acknowledged to be the finest of all his works—which are not ordinary letters on current affairs like those of Cicero but moral discussions and reflections covering a wide range of subjects.

Ancient philosophy is divided into the three branches—ethics, physics, and logic. Seneca cared little for dialectic or logic. He criticized the current philosophy for teaching disciples how to dispute rather than how to live, and the pupils themselves with being more interested in sharpening their wits than in improving their characters.

Science in Seneca's day was a branch of philosophy belonging to the division of physics. Seneca was interested in physics mainly for its bearing upon ethics, as had been the case also with Lucretius; physics was naturally connected with theology and consequently had a direct bearing on man's destiny and fate, and this was what gave it interest for Seneca. His studies in this line are incorporated in the work entitled *Naturales Quaestiones*, which may be translated *Physical Science*. Seneca's work treats chiefly of astronomy and meteorology and of physical geography, and it became a textbook in those branches during the Middle Ages. Those who are curious in regard to this part of Seneca's work may consult a book entitled *Physical Science in the Time of Nero*, which consists of a translation of the *Naturales Quaestiones* by Clarke, a classical scholar, with notes on the treatise by Sir Archibald Geikie, the distinguished British geologist.

If we begin the study of Seneca with the idea that we are to find in him a systematic exposition of Stoic doctrine, we shall be disappointed. He is interested in the formation of character and in man's relation to deity. He teaches mainly, but not exclusively, by applying Stoic doctrines to man's actual needs in daily life in so far as this is possible. These teachings are just as vital, just as interesting, just as helpful today as they were on the day they were written, for human nature remains much the same in every age. As previously stated these teachings in their most helpful and appealing form are embodied in the epistles to Lucilius.

At the beginning of the first epistle Seneca writes: *Vindica te tibi*, usually translated, "Set yourself free for your

own sake." This is perhaps sufficiently exact, but *vindicare* is a term in law meaning "to claim freedom." "Make yourself master of your own destiny" is the exact sense in this context. One's body and fortune may be subject to another but one's soul can be his own even in slavery. These words may be taken as the general text on which Seneca preaches in the epistles.

The one thing that man possesses is himself. There is but one freedom, that of being a slave to no want. According to Stoic teaching there are things good, things bad, and things indifferent; that is, neither good nor bad in themselves, but only so through the opinion held in regard to them. Among things indifferent Seneca counts the human body. He teaches that we are miserable because we think we are. Freedom cannot be taken from us if we are not afraid to surrender our external possessions, and among these external possessions we must count the body, which is only the soil in which the soul is planted. The soul grows and blossoms or withers and decays according to the nature of this soil and the degree of cultivation it receives.

As we have seen, to Seneca philosophy means the study of the phenomena of the universe, and of the nature of man, each with its divine element that he calls God. All nature is one; not only the physical world, which is self-evident, but the spiritual world as well. Man must recognize this universal kinship and love his brother as himself.

Follow nature and you can do no wrong was another Stoic doctrine. Seneca taught that the unique quality that places man in a class by himself is the possession of reason, which is itself a portion of divinity implanted in man. To

follow reason is consequently to act in accordance with nature and to act in accordance with nature is the key to human happiness.

Actions, like things, are *per se* neither good nor bad. The same action may be base or virtuous according to the mental attitude of the doer. Hence actions must be judged, not with regard to the general view that is held of them, but with regard to what they really are. Wisdom is consistency of judgment, for it is not possible that anything other than that which is right can always please us.

Seneca's philosophical writings display breadth of view and abundant knowledge, and they are not pedantic. The nobleness of their thought and their warmth of feeling attract the reader. They must be read in small allotments, however, as the brilliancy of the style, the repetition of mannerisms, and the constant effort to please will fatigue the reader.

Much of the ethical teaching of Stoicism, with its harshness toned down by Seneca, bears a rather striking similarity to that of Christianity. The ways in which he speaks of deity, for instance, will illustrate this: "The great soul is that which yields itself up to God." "All that pleases Him [i.e., God] is good." "He is a friend never far off." "He is our father." "It is from Him that great and good resolutions come." "Prayer is a witness to His care for us."

On the authority of Jerome, who based his judgment upon a body of letters supposed to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca, the Church believed that Seneca was one of the early saints, that much of his teaching was derived from the Gospels, and that he had held communica-

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

tion with St. Paul. Fourteen of these letters are extant. Judging from internal evidence, practically all authorities agree that they are forgeries. The motive for the forgery was, of course, to bring out the similarity of the teaching mentioned above. Whether it is likely that Seneca ever met St. Paul, as his brother Gallio actually did, is an interesting question but apart from our purpose here.

The place of Seneca in Roman literature as a stylist is indeed unique. An historian of Roman literature has pertinently remarked that he "set the style in which each succeeding author either wrote or tried to write or tried not to write." Cicero, with his dignified, well-balanced, and sonorous periods, had been the acknowledged pattern for prose style until the appearance of Seneca, who superseded him. This means that the periodic structure was replaced by what has been well termed the pointed style, which was a natural result of the rhetorical training and literary tendency of the time, to which we have previously referred. It may be added that the vogue of the Augustan poets in the scheme of education had also affected prose style to a marked degree. This influence, first noticeable in Livy's writings, is strikingly exemplified in the works of Tacitus. The culmination of all these tendencies produced the striking pointed style of Seneca. The style is characterized by a tendency constantly to employ epigram, antithesis, paradox, and allusion. What had been sparingly employed as a condiment in the more chaste classical style now became the *pièce de résistance*.

Summers, a classical scholar and editor of Seneca, felicitously describes the pointed style as

a kind of writing which, without sacrificing clearness or conciseness, regularly avoids in thought or phrase or both, all that is obvious, direct, or natural; seeking to be ingenious rather than true, neat rather than beautiful; exercising the wit but not rousing the emotions or appealing to the judgment of the reader. It is a style which, in modern literature, has been admired in France rather than in Germany or in our country [England], although in Pope we have an acknowledged master of it.

This style, so well characterized by Summers, was the predominant one during the Silver Age of Latin literature, although Quintilian, the Roman critic, strove manfully to stem the tide of its popularity, because he believed its tendency to be thoroughly vicious. Quintilian's remarks on Seneca are worth quoting in full:

I have deliberately postponed the discussion of Seneca in connection with the various departments of literature because there is a general, though false, impression that I condemn and even detest him. It is true that I had occasion to pass censure upon him when I was endeavouring to recall students from a depraved style, weakened by every kind of error, to a severer standard of taste. But at that time Seneca's works were in the hands of every young man, and my aim was not to ban his reading altogether, but to prevent his being preferred to authors superior to himself, but whom he was never tired of disparaging; for, being conscious of the fact that his own style was very different from theirs, he was afraid that he would fail to please those who admired them. But the young men loved him rather than imitated him and fell as far below him as he fell below the ancients. For I only wish they had equalled or at least approached his level. But he pleased them for his faults

alone, and each individual sought to imitate such of those faults as lay within his capacity to reproduce and then brought reproach on his master by boasting that he spoke in the genuine Senecan manner. Seneca had many excellent qualities, a quick and fertile intelligence with great industry and wide knowledge, though as regards the last quality he was often led into error by those whom he had entrusted with the task of investigating certain subjects on his behalf. He dealt with almost every department of knowledge, for speeches, poems, letters, and dialogues all circulate under his name. In philosophy he showed a lack of critical power, but he was none the less quite admirable in his denunciations of vice. His works contain a number of striking general reflections and much that is worth reading for edification; but his style is for the most part corrupt and exceedingly dangerous, for the very reason that its vices are so many and so attractive. One could wish that, while he relied on his own intelligence, he had allowed himself to be guided by the taste of others. For if he had only despised all unnatural expressions and had not been so passionately fond of all that was incorrect, if he had not felt such affection for all that was his own and had not impaired the solidity of his matter by striving after epigrammatic brevity, he would have won the approval of the learned instead of the enthusiasm of boys. But, even as it is, he deserves to be read by those whose powers have been formed and firmly molded on the standards of a severer taste, if only because he will exercise their critical faculties in distinguishing between his merits and his defects. For, as I have said, there is much in him that we may approve, much even that we may admire. Only we must be careful in our selection: would that he had been as careful himself. For his genius deserved to be devoted to better aims, since what it does actually aim at, it succeeds in achieving.

Typical Senecan brilliancy, which sparkles on every page, may be illustrated by the following citations taken mainly from the epistles and quoted from Summers' *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*:

A man who has taken your time recognizes no debt: yet it is the one he can never repay (Ep. 1, 3).

You cannot read all the books you have: have then only as many as you can read (Ep. 2, 3).

Rules make the learner's path long, examples make it short and successful (Ep. 6, 5).

Man at his birth is content with a little milk and a piece of flannel: so we begin, that presently find kingdoms not enough for us (Ep. 20, 13).

A lesson that is never learnt can never be too often taught (Ep. 27, 9).

They that mistake life's accessories for life itself are like them that go too fast in a maze: their very haste confuses them (Ep. 60, 3).

'Tis not the belly's hunger that costs so much, but its pride (Ep. 60, 3).

Men love their country, not because it is great, but because it is their own (Ep. 66, 26).

No one finds his proficiency in a study just where he dropped it (Ep. 71, 35).

Life is a play: 'tis not its length but its performance that counts (Ep. 77, 20).

Retirement without the love of letters is living burial (Ep. 82, 3).

Wealth falls on some men as a copper down a drain (Ep. 87, 16).

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

Life should be like the precious metals, weigh much in little bulk (Ep. 93, 4).

The good man is Nature's creditor, giving her back better life than he had of her (Ep. 93, 8).

Nature flings us into, she flings us out of, the world: more than you brought with you, you may not take away (Ep. 102, 24).

Abstinence is easier than temperance (Ep. 106, 16).

Savageness is always due to a sense of weakness (Vit. Beat. 3, 4).

To forgive all is as inhuman as to forgive none (Clem. 1, 2, 2).

A multitude of executions discredits a king, as a multitude of funerals a doctor (Clem. 1, 24, 7).

Virtue rejects a mean admirer: you must come to her with open purse (Ben. IV, 24, 2).

Of the tragedies attributed to Seneca there are eight complete plays on the well-worn themes of the Greek legends, fragments of two others, and a *praetexta*, the *Octavia*. Critics in general accept the eight plays as Seneca's, but from internal evidence reject the *Octavia* as having been written after the death of Nero. As there are skeptics, however, we shall mention briefly the facts that throw some doubt upon the authenticity of the plays. One of them—the most interesting in the collection and the only example extant of a Roman tragedy with a Roman plot—the *Octavia*, is conceded not to be the work of the philosopher. Why may not its author, whoever he was, have written the others as well?

It must be acknowledged that the style of this particular play is somewhat more natural, that it shows true feeling

and is more subdued in tone than the rest of the collection. All of this, however, might well be attributed to the fact that a contemporary event, the heart-rending tragedy of the young, beautiful, and innocent wife of the heartless Nero, is narrated.

Quintilian, in his enumeration of the Roman writers of tragedy from the earliest time to Pomponius Secundus, makes no mention of Seneca. In the passage already quoted he makes no mention of dramas in citing the forms of literature to which Seneca devoted his attention. Sidonius Apollonaris, a writer of the fifth century and a man well versed in Roman literature, distinguishes between the philosopher and the dramatist in the following passage: "You are not to read here the eloquent productions of the foster children of Cordova, one of whom revered the crabbed Plato and in vain admonished his pupil Nero, while the other imitated the work of Euripides and followed in the steps of Aeschylus and Thespis." (Carmen IX, 230-239.) Finally, it is said that Seneca's peculiarities are sometimes exaggerated in the dramas to a point that makes them caricatures of the real Seneca. Whoever the Seneca who wrote the plays may be, the plays themselves exercised a tremendous influence during the Renaissance and thereafter.

Early Roman tragedy, like comedy, was entirely dependent upon that of Greece. We have it on the authority of Horace that the Romans were quite happy in their adaptations of Greek tragedy; that is, in plays taken bodily from the Greek and in plays constructed like Greek tragedies but upon Roman themes—technically called *praetextae*, or plays of the purple stripe. Tragedy appealed to the Roman

character, the striking quality of which was *gravitas*, or personal dignity.

Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* quotes rather copiously from the early Roman writers of tragedy, especially Ennius. All that we know of this early Latin tragedy is derived from such citations, which make us wish that we had more. There is a dignity and sonorousness of diction quite worthy the tragic style. There is also a tendency to declamation and verbosity, and we must feel that the Senecan dramas are legitimate but degenerate offspring of these early plays, which were naturally based for the most part upon the cosmopolitan and unreligious Euripides rather than upon the intensely national and religious Aeschylus and Sophocles. So, too, in Seneca. Of the eight plays with plots taken from Greek legend, five are adaptations from Euripides, one from Aeschylus, and one from Sophocles; one, the *Troades* or *Trojan Women*, is a contamination—that is, its plot is formed by the fusion of two plays of Euripides. In general the plots follow the Greek originals very closely. There is sometimes an alteration in the relative importance of certain scenes. Sometimes a scene is omitted and sometimes one is added, but rarely. The plays are somewhat shorter than the Greek originals. The chorus is retained but is quite divorced from the plot; apart from the fact that it is in lyric measure, it differs little from the declamations of the ordinary actors. The convention of having but three actors on the stage at once is pretty strictly kept.

It is hardly conceivable that these Senecan plays were ever intended to be put on the stage, for dramatic interest

is entirely lacking—the speeches are too long for anything but recitation and there is not the slightest attempt to delineate character. The characters merely deliver speeches and recite descriptions. There is a lack of restraint, which often results in the violation of the decencies of the stage, as when Manto, a prophetess, investigates the entrails in public and when Medea kills her children in full view of the audience. The height of bad taste, or shall we say of absurdity, is attained when Thyestes hears the cry of his children, whom he has just eaten, sounding within him. As drama these plays are about as lifeless as it is possible for drama to be. They are not, however, without some literary qualities. Many of the descriptions are really fine and some of the speeches really eloquent. The chorus often indulges in brilliant philosophizing. The meters conform closely to the usage of the Augustan poets, but—and here again dramatic instinct fails—the meter does not harmonize with its dramatic significance. Moreover, the plays are discursive. I think that the strongest evidence that they are from the pen of Seneca is the fact that they lack organic structure. Now this is a characteristic of all the books of which Seneca is unquestionably the author. The essays and the epistles are discursive in the extreme and even the *Naturales Quaestiones* shows the same characteristic.

How dear these declamations would be to the hearts of the Elizabethans will be apparent, I think, from one passage in the *Troades*—a duel of words between Pyrrhus and Agamemnon. The plot of the *Troades* or *Trojan Women* is as follows.

The long and toilsome siege of Troy is done. Her stately

palaces and massive walls have been overthrown and lie darkening the sky with their still-smouldering ruins. Her heroic defenders are either slain or scattered, seeking other homes in distant lands. The victorious Greeks have gathered the rich spoils of Troy upon the shore, among them the Trojan women, who have suffered the usual fate of women when a city is sacked. They await the lot that shall assign them to their Grecian lords and scatter them among the cities of their foes. All things are ready for the start.

But now the ghost of Achilles has risen from the tomb and has demanded that Polyxena be sacrificed to him before the Greeks shall be allowed to sail away. And Calchas, also, bids that Astyanax be slain, for only thus can Greece be safe from any future Trojan war. And thus the Trojan captives who have so long endured the pains of war must suffer still this double tragedy. After the ghost of Achilles has appeared to his son Pyrrhus, the latter, in two full pages of text, addresses Agamemnon, stating the wishes of his father's ghost; in an equally extensive speech, Agamemnon replies. Then the duel begins.

AGAMEMNON: But, of a truth, no fear thy father felt;
 But while our Greece lay bleeding, and her ships
 With hostile fire were threatened, there he lay
 Supine and thoughtless of his warlike arms;
 And idly strumming on his tuneful lyre.

PYRRHUS: Then mighty Hector, scornful of thy arms,
 Yet felt such wholesome fear of that same lyre,
 That our Thessalian ships were left in peace.

AGAMEMNON: An equal peace did Hector's father find
 When he betook him to Achilles' ships.

PYRRHUS: 'Tis regal thus to spare a kingly life.

AGAMEMNON: Why then didst thou a kingly life despoil?

PYRRHUS: But mercy oft doth offer death for life.

AGAMEMNON: Doth mercy now demand a maiden's blood?

PYRRHUS: Canst *thou* proclaim such sacrifice a sin?

AGAMEMNON: A king must love his country more than child.

PYRRHUS: No law the wretched captive's life doth spare.

AGAMEMNON: What law forbids not, this let shame forbid.

PYRRHUS: 'Tis victor's right to do whate'er he will.

AGAMEMNON: Then should he will the least, who most can do.

PYRRHUS: Dost thou boast thus, from whose tyrannic reign
Of ten long years but now the Greeks I freed?

AGAMEMNON: Such airs from Scyros!

PYRRHUS: Thence no brother's blood.²

AGAMEMNON: Hemmed by the sea!

PYRRHUS: Yet that same sea is ours.³

But as for Pelop's house, I know it well.

AGAMEMNON: Thou baseborn son of maiden's secret sin,
And young Achilles, scarce of man's estate—

PYRRHUS: Yea, that Achilles who, by right of birth,
Claims equal sovereignty of triple realms:
His mother rules the sea, to Aeacus
The shades submit, to mighty Jove the heavens.

AGAMEMNON: Yet that Achilles lies, by Paris slain!

PYRRHUS: But by Apollo's aid, who aimed the dart;
For no God dared to meet him face to face.⁴

² A reference to Atreus and Thyestes, father and uncle of Agamemnon, who committed horrible crimes against each other.

³ This fact was true, because Achilles was the son of Thetis, a sea nymph.

⁴ *Troades*, ll. 319 ff. The passage is quoted from Miller's excellent translation.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

The writers of the Renaissance regarded these wordy and lifeless dramas as real plays and hence arose the wide influence they exercised then and afterward.

But it does make one pause and ponder and marvel that the elder Scaliger, counted the greatest scholar and critic of his age, could thus characterize Seneca, the dramatist! "Inferior in majesty to none of the Greeks—in culture and polish greater than Euripides." It has always seemed to me that the influence of Seneca, extending across the very threshold of modern times, is most conspicuously displayed in the work of Corneille and Racine, especially the former. Granted that these authors possess dramatic genius, their plays exhibit that fundamental rhetorical and declamatory cast that was the striking quality of the Senecan plays.

V

ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE AGE OF SIDONIUS

CLASSIC Rome may not lay claim to much originality in the invention and perfection of literary forms. That was the work of a people of far finer sensibility and of greater genius in the realm of art. In literature Rome claims to be the inventor, perfecter, and creator in but one field—that of satire. Rome's greatest intellectual achievements fall within the domain of law and government, and it is perhaps partly due to the practical quality of mind that made them prominent in these fields that the Romans also became and remained the masters of the classical literary epistle. For though the letter is classed by Greek and Latin rhetoricians as a branch of *belles-lettres* and is properly so classed, it has much in common with the practical everyday activities of men. The fact that Rome became a world power and that her provincial governors and officials were in constant communication with the home government and with friends contributed perhaps more than all else to the development of letter writing in the time of the republic and the empire. At any rate the Romans became and remained the masters of epistolary form. The classic literature of Greece contains nothing comparable to the unique collections of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Seneca.

We have, to be sure, in the work of Hercher entitled *Epistolographi Graeci*, a generous work of some eight hundred pages, a collection of Greek letters, many of them purporting to have been written by Greeks of the classic period. Since the time of Richard Bentley it has been known that a large number of these are spurious. Among them are one hundred and sixty-five letters attributed to Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily from 570 to 554 B. C., which Bentley proved to be arrant forgeries and which he attributed to a Sophist or rhetorician writing as late as the second century A. D. In the mass of evidence arrayed against their authenticity, Bentley cites the mention of towns that did not exist in the time of Phalaris; the imitation of authors such as Herodotus, who wrote long after Phalaris had passed away; references to tragedies, though tragedies had not yet been invented; and the fact that the dialect in which the letters were written was Attic instead of Dorian as it would have been had they been authentic. In all probability the letters attributed to Socrates, Xenophon, Aristippus, Euripides, and Alciphron are also spurious.

The letters in the collection cited as those of Herodotus and Thucydides are probably not the identical letters written by the individuals to whom they are assigned, but, like the speeches composed by these authors and put into the mouths of historical personages, are what these individuals might reasonably be supposed to have written under the circumstances. This convention of assigning letters and speeches to historical characters passed into Latin literature. Some of Livy's most brilliant and effective writing is in this form.

ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY

We also find in Latin the one instance with which I am familiar where it is possible to check the historian's record of a speech by a comparison with the original. Tacitus, in his *Annals*, incorporates a speech of Claudius, given in the senate, on the extension of the right of holding office to the inhabitants of transalpine Gaul. The Tacitean speech is well composed, with just a touch of the antiquarian pedantry of Claudius to make it characteristic. The original speech, preserved in an inscription discovered at Lugdunum (Lyons), is loose and rambling and wearisome. Without distorting the facts Tacitus has made the speech readable. It would seem to be reasonable, then, to assume that had Tacitus had a better model to follow, he would have reproduced it more closely. We may go still further and say that if he is as true to his originals in general as in this somewhat unpromising instance, we may read his speeches with the conviction that we are at least receiving the meaning and the spirit, if not the letter, of the original.

In this sense some of the letters in the Hercher collection taken from Thucydides and possibly those taken from Herodotus may also be considered as having a genuine source. After sifting out the spurious letters we have remaining a small collection that may be genuine, possibly including some of those attributed to Isocrates and Plato. It may be said in general, however, not only of the avowedly spurious but of the possibly genuine Greek letters, that they are highly artificial in character and serve as a medium of argumentation on a variety of subjects. In other words, they are of a rhetorical cast.

Mention may be made here of the rich collection of Greek

papyri that has been recovered and is being recovered at the present time, which already comprises hundreds of Greek letters on all imaginable topics. It will be remembered, however, that the mass of letters recovered deals for the most part with Egyptian life in the time of the Ptolemies and in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine period and that they lay no claim to literary merit. Our statement, therefore, that classic Greek literature presents nothing comparable to the epistolary collections of Cicero, Pliny, and Seneca may stand unchallenged.

Formal rhetoric, which claimed the right to supervise all literary activity, laid down the canons of epistolary form as a branch of *belles-lettres*. This influence may be detected even in the letters of Cicero, notwithstanding their naturalness and spontaneity.

The rules of the rhetoricians molded official correspondence in particular, and under their influence the letter began to be used for purposes quite different from those for which it was originally intended. For instance, it was used as a form of eulogy or for historical exposition. To give certain phases of history the stamp of weighty authority, letters were cited purporting to have emanated from distinguished characters of the period under discussion.

The didactic epistle, or the letter whose function is that of instruction or propaganda, is a descendant of the dialogue, which was a favorite classic form for the dissemination of historical, literary, philosophical, rhetorical, and legal knowledge and theories. In the hands of Plato it became one of the most attractive forms of literature, and

ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY

most of Cicero's rhetorical, philosophical, and legal treatises are cast in this form.

When the philosophical schools had spread their influence beyond the locality where they had originated and when their teachers had multiplied, it was but natural that the epistle should become the form best suited to the dissemination of the tenets of the various sects. The founder of Epicureanism himself was the first to use this form for instruction and, though the teaching of his school abjured all rhetorical embellishments, Epicurus found himself obliged to conform more or less to the rules of rhetorical theory as formulated by Socrates.

It was the collection of letters written by the heads of various philosophical schools that made it possible to formulate their views into systems of philosophy. One ultimate source of knowledge of the tenets of the Epicurean system consists of two epistles by its founder, which are preserved in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*. Philosophic disputation was now conducted, therefore, in the form of monologue as it had formerly been in the form of dialogue, for the letter is, as the ancients themselves remarked, but one-half of a dialogue.

Instruction by letter spread from philosophy to other fields. The moralizing letter was to classical times what the sermon was, shall we say, to our just passing generation. All of Seneca's epistles are examples of practical moral instruction based largely on Stoic principles. The apostolic epistles of the New Testament, though not falling in the group of the classics, are examples in point. Epistles from

the emperor to his representatives in the provinces became one of the sources of laws. His answers to inquiries made by his governors were known as *rescripts*, or replies, and had the force of laws. Posidonius, a Stoic and one of the older contemporaries of Cicero, introduced the epistle as a literary form to the Romans, though practical letter writing had naturally long been in use among them. From his time the Romans became and remained the masters of the classical literary epistle.

Artemon, a Greek philosopher of the second century A. D., was the first to emphasize the fact that a letter was nothing more than a halved dialogue. For that reason its tone is to be that of refined conversation, more carefully thought out, in fact, than the dialogue—which, at least in appearance, is improvised, while the letter is the result of reflection. The letter should be brief and concise and should be uninterrupted by question and answer; and it should not have the balanced periodic structure of other forms of literature. It may be embellished by frequent quotation from proverbs, and the first requirement is that both tone and content be adapted to the character of the recipient.

Cicero draws a distinction between the careful style of official correspondence and the less formal tone of private letters. During the later period of his life he devoted much time to rhetorical investigation, in the course of which he was led into the field of epistolary theory. In his correspondence we find a classification of possible forms. He draws a distinction between *litterae privatae* and *litterae publicae*, or those intended for the eye of one individual and those that are to meet the public gaze. They are to be

distinguished even as to the superscription, which, in the case of private correspondence, should merely give the cognomen of the person addressed. These confidential letters are to be free and easy both in tone and content. The *sermo cotidianus*, or, as we would say, the conversational tone, is to be employed, and the *iocatio*, or flavoring of wit and humor, is to be introduced.

Elsewhere Cicero, with that fondness for system and order that was perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Roman mind, divides letters according to content into: (1) those for the communication of news; (2) the *genus familiare et iocosum*, written in happy circumstances; (3) the *genus severum et grave*, written during times of misfortune and subdivided into (a) those merely conveying expressions of consolation and (b) those expressing both consolation and promises of aid. Even the later theorists did not go beyond this division. All that Quintilian has to say of the letter in his *Institutiones* is that it must be in *oratio soluta*, i.e., the strict laws of rhythmic close pervading ancient oratory and history have no place in private correspondence.

After Quintilian it is not till the age of Symmachus that a theorist on the subject is met with. At the end of Victor's *Ars rhetorica* there is a special chapter entitled *De epistolis*—"Letters," in which the rules and regulations of the Greek textbooks are given a more practical turn. As the chapter is an excellent example of the ancient rhetorical treatment of epistolography, is not overlong, and does not seem to be available in English, we translate it in full:

Many of the precepts governing conversation apply to letter

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

writing as well. Letters may be divided into two classes, business letters and personal letters. Business letters treat of serious business matters. In this type all rhetorical embellishment is omitted for brevity's sake. In fact the only rule governing oratory, which applies to letter writing as well, is that the style be restrained and the language suited to the theme. If one incorporates an historical incident in a letter, its treatment should deviate somewhat from the strict historical style, that the flavor and charm of the epistolary form be not lost. If one write on an erudite subject, the discussion should be so carried on as not to destroy epistolary form. In personal letters the first consideration is brevity. Sentences should not, as Cato says, be disproportionately long. If curtailed, however, it should be in such a way that no word necessary to the sense be lacking; as a matter of fact, in Cicero's letters to Atticus and to Axius the word "thee" is frequently to be supplied. Perfect lucidity should characterize letters except when clandestine correspondence is purposely carried on. Even there, though obscure to others, it should be perfectly clear to the recipients. It is also customary to employ a cipher in such letters. Caesar, Augustus, Cicero, and others did so. However, when no secrecy is employed, obscurity of meaning is to be avoided with even greater care than in oratory or conversation; if you do not understand a speaker you can ask him to be clearer, something impossible in the case of letters. And for this reason obscure incidents, rare proverbs, peculiar words, and far-fetched figures are not to be employed. Nor should you in your zeal for excessive brevity leave half of your sentence to be conjectured, nor should lucidity be obscured by overattention to form. If you are writing to a superior do not indulge in jocular remarks; if to an equal, be kind and courteous; if to an inferior, avoid haughtiness. Don't write in a careless man-

ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY

ner in addressing a scholar; nor in a slovenly manner when addressing a person of ordinary attainment; nor slightly to a mere acquaintance; nor coldly to one with whom you are on moderate terms of intimacy. Be generous in your congratulation to the successful that his pleasure may be enhanced. When you meet sorrow console, but judiciously, for a new wound shrinks from the touch. Banter with your friends by letter but remember that they may re-read these letters when they are in no bantering frame of mind. One should never indulge in a reproach—least of all in a letter. The introduction and the ending of letters should keep in view degree of friendship and difference of position.

When answering a letter we should have it before us for fear of forgetting something requiring an answer. Our ancestors observed the practice of writing with their own hand letters addressed to their most intimate friends and for the most part signed their names at the end.

Letters of recommendation should be written in good faith or not sent at all. Such will be the case when as a friend you write to a friend, and your request is reasonable and possible. To embellish your letter with Greek is an attractive custom, provided discrimination is shown and the practice not overdone. It is also proper to quote a well-known proverb or a line of poetry. It is quite taking at times to write as though your friend were present—thus: “look you,” or “see here,” or “I see you smile derisively.” Many instances of this practice are found in Cicero’s correspondence. But, as we have said, this is to be confined to familiar letters. The other type requires a higher degree of seriousness. Our last injunction is that letters and their endings be couched in courteous terms.

So much for Victor’s treatment of the subject. It will be conceded on the strength of the evidence just submitted

that, despite the dryness characterizing systematic rhetorical treatment, a degree of good sense is displayed by the ancient rhetoricians in the formal treatment of correspondence.

The poetic epistle was a favorite form in Roman literature and was a natural development of the letter used for rhetorical purposes. Any poem may, as a matter of fact, become an epistle by being addressed to a definite individual.

The epistles of Horace are the best known. Some of them are real letters, more of them interesting sketches of Roman life and manners, and several of them essays upon literary, dramatic, and philosophic subjects. Ovid's fictitious love letters of ladies of the mythological age to their usually faithless lovers or husbands are highly polished productions; then, too, we have his real letters of complaint and lamentation in verse, written from his place of exile. From a later age we have the twenty-five metrical epistles of Ausonius and those of Statius, many of which are real letters in various meters. The same may be said of those of Claudian and of some of those of Apollinaris Sidonius.

It is, however, with the prose letter that we are chiefly concerned. Specimens of it previous to the age of Cicero are meager enough, as the following summary will show.

Cato the Censor (234-149 B. C.), known as the earliest prose writer of the Romans, left a collection of letters to his son, which is mentioned by Cicero and Plutarch. The following quotation, cited by Pliny the Elder, on Greek quack doctors may have been taken from a book of precepts that Cato dedicated to his son, but it may with equal probability

have belonged to the correspondence. It is typical of the hard-headed, rugged, and narrow-minded Roman.

Son Marcus: I shall speak about those Greeks at the proper time and tell you what I have discovered at Athens and why it is profitable to have a slight but not an intimate acquaintance with their literature. I'll prove that they are a good-for-nothing, stiff-necked people. Take it from me that whenever that nation shall spread its culture it will destroy everything; the more, if it shall send its doctors here. They have sworn an oath to slay all foreigners and they will do this by practicing their profession to arouse confidence and do their murders with ease. Even us they call barbarians and befoul us more than others by calling us Hottentots. I forbid you to have anything to do with doctors.

In antiquity, letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, addressed to her son Gaius were current. Two fragments—one of five, the other of twenty-two lines, are preserved in the manuscripts of Cornelius Nepos. In the latter excerpt she roundly upbraids her son for disturbing her peace of mind by engaging in hazardous and dubious political agitation.

Letters of Varro, the most learned of the Romans, as he was called, who flourished in the generation before Cicero, were known to antiquity but none have survived. There were several collections of Caesar's extensive correspondence published after his death. Some of these were in cipher, the key to which is given us by Suetonius. All we have now are six, included in the Ciceronian collection. The historian Sallust quotes some letters in his historical works that are apparently genuine. These are Lentulus to

Catiline, those of Catiline, Pompey to the senate, and King Mithridates to Arsaces. One manuscript of Sallust contains a long letter, which is evidently spurious, addressed *ad Caesarem senem*, being a rhetorical exercise of the period of the empire. The correspondence between Cicero and Marcus Brutus, murderer of Caesar, has been very imperfectly preserved, but we have in the collection a number from Brutus' pen.

Of work in prose by Vergil we read only of his correspondence with Augustus, which was perhaps published by the latter after Vergil's death. There are specimens quoted by Donatus in his life of Vergil and in Macrobius. This comprises about all we know of Latin letter writers previous to the era of Pliny the Younger, and were it not for Cicero's voluminous correspondence our information for the period would indeed be meager.

Four collections of Cicero's correspondence are extant; two larger, the *Epistulae ad familiares* and *Ad Atticum*, each in sixteen books, and two smaller, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, in three books, and *Ad Brutum*, in two. The entire corpus consists of seven hundred and seventy-four letters by Cicero and ninety by correspondents. The period covered is about twenty-five years and falls within the last half of his life, six hundred of the letters having been written within the last nine years. Cicero had no hand in the collection of the letters nor in their publication. When writing them he had not the faintest idea that they would reach the eye of the public. Hence their unexampled ingenuousness. It was the custom at this period for men of affairs to file all correspondence and to keep copies of their own let-

ters. That Cicero did so we definitely know. Tiro, Cicero's secretary, probably prepared for publication the *Ad familiares*. Atticus himself prepared the collection *Ad Atticum*. The collection *Ad Brutum* seems to be very incomplete. During the Middle Ages the letters were lost. Three of the collections were rediscovered at Verona in the fourteenth century by Petrarch. The fourth reappeared at the end of the same century.

The correspondence, treating of all imaginable phases of life, ranging from international diplomacy and national politics to the infelicities of the domestic hearth, is of intense interest and of great historical value. The letters emanate from the mind of the most cultured statesman of his time, who took a leading rôle in the great drama of the fall of the republic—a drama in which there were many other distinguished actors: Caesar, Pompey, Mark Antony, Brutus, Cassius, and on the dénouement of which depended the destiny of the world. All these actors and the issues involved appear as living images and vital questions in the pages of Cicero. In this respect the correspondence of Cicero is unsurpassed by anything that antiquity has left us. The society of the age—the cultured, the official, the frivolous—lives again.

It is the human interest, however, that surpasses all else. In the correspondence we see a human soul in the nakedness of truth; we see intense egotism, duplicity, fear, unmanly lamentation of exile, recrimination, and, on the other hand, burning patriotism, tireless activity, the power to face dangerous crises, family affection, humanity toward dependents, and a love of country that in the end accepts

death with calmness and fortitude. In fact, we recognize that mixture of good and evil, strength and weakness, idealism and materialism that unites to form the nature of most of us. This frankness on the part of Cicero has provided his critics, notably Mommsen (who, by the way, wrote Roman history with a preconceived ideal of national felicity and saw in Caesar the founder of a system that had culminated in a kaiser), with material with which to assail with telling effect the champions of democracy.

A careful perusal of the letters will convince an unprejudiced reader that the vacillation with which Cicero is charged is the vacillation of a mind that sees many sides of a question and weighs them all. We can detect every thought that flits through his active mind, but the history of his life indubitably shows that when his mind was clearly made up as to the justice of a course, he could, on at least some critical occasions, be consistent, persevering, and brave in pursuing it. That he loved his country with as unselfish a love as it is given to most patriots to do is also clear. In addition to his pronounced egoism Cicero possessed a power without which his correspondence could raise but a temporary interest. We refer to the power of detachment, which could rise superior to its surroundings and could comment upon the scenes that so vitally affected him.

The style of the letters reflects the mood of the moment or the intention of the author. Some are colloquial to the verge of slang. Some are constrained in tone, especially those in which the politician Cicero meets the advances of his opponent Caesar. To some correspondents, notably to

ROMAN EPISTOLOGRAPHY

Lentulus, Appius, and Plancus, Cicero writes with all the elegance of a careful literary style.

Cicero's correspondence is more or less familiar to those who have had any contact with Roman literature. The letters of Seneca, entitled *Epistulae morales*, are not as well known as they deserve to be.

Seneca, called the Philosopher to distinguish him from his father, the Rhetorician, was the most brilliant of that coterie of writers of the Spanish school that counted among its members Lucan, the author of the *Pharsalia*, and Martial the Epigrammatist. He is best known in history as one of Nero's tutors and guides during the first years of his reign, when he exercised an influence in matters of state loosely similar to that of a prime minister in more recent times. It is generally conceded that he served his country well and that the auspicious character of the first five years of Nero's reign was largely due to his influence, abetted by the good sense and integrity of Burrus, commander of the imperial guards. The financial reforms of Nero's reign are rightly attributed to the foresight and wisdom of Seneca. His tact was shown in his management of the difficult empress mother, Agrippina. Whether he and Burrus were cognizant of Nero's schemes to murder his mother we do not know. We do know that after the deed was committed they acquiesced in it and palliated it.

There has always been hot discussion as to Seneca's merits, dating even from his own time. He is harshly criticized by Quintilian and others. It is to be noted, however, that Quintilian, an avowed Ciceronian, attacks him on the ground of style rather than content, Seneca being one of

the earliest proponents of the silver Latin style and certainly the most influential and distinguished of them. His radicalism in thought, too, gave much offense to conservatives. It is not, however, apparent that his wisdom was called into question by his contemporaries.

During the early empire the two schools of philosophy that exercised the greatest influence were the Stoic and the Epicurean, for the reason that more than others they emphasized the ethical side of philosophy and esteemed it primarily as it served to guide and regulate men's conduct. In fact, as has been often noted, the philosopher of the period held in some of the noble houses a position fairly analogous to that of the private chaplain of a later date.

Seneca's position at court combined this function of spiritual advisor with that of his other duties. He was by nature and taste a moral teacher and in the uncongenial surroundings of the imperial palace he formulated the plan of addressing his teachings or sermons to a wider public. Hence the production of his series of essays on ethical themes and hence that collection of letters that best illustrates his peculiar talent. These letters are in reality essays, a fact that Francis Bacon was the first to point out. Addressed to his young Epicurean friend Lucilius, they were in reality written for the public, or rather for the cultured few to whom they would appeal. As with most Romans, Seneca's tendencies in philosophy were catholic and he may be termed an eclectic. He more than once affirms that truth is confined to no one school and freely draws upon the Epicurean masters to illustrate his teachings. None the less Seneca is thoroughly imbued with Stoic principles and we

are certainly justified in calling him a Stoic, using the term in a broad sense.

Seneca is famous for his brilliant epigrammatic style, which is known as the pointed style to distinguish it from the periodic style as illustrated in the writings of Cicero. The pointed style reaches its culmination in the *Moral Epistles*. The sparkling epigrammatic character of the work might lead one to expect a high degree of artificiality both in style and treatment, but this is far from true. I well recall my own surprise on first becoming acquainted with these letters to find the vocabulary that of everyday life (except of course, as technical matters are from time to time mentioned) and the style quite colloquial. As a matter of fact, they constitute a brilliant, scintillating conversation with the reader.

Incidentally, the epistles convey many interesting details of Roman life and manners. This is in large part due to one of Seneca's favorite methods of approaching an ethical discussion. To illustrate: Seneca, on visiting one of his suburban estates familiar to him as a boy, notes the marks of the ravages of time—the decrepit doorkeeper, the moss-covered and crumbling masonry, the neglected trees, and so forth—all of which suggests and introduces a charming discussion on old age.

The old formula for beginning a letter in vogue in Cicero's time, *si vales bene est, ego valeo* (literally, "if you are well, 'tis well, I, too, am well") suggests to Seneca the consideration of the efforts of the athlete to keep himself in perfect physical condition as compared with the common neglect of the condition of the mind and soul, whose health

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

is of even more importance than that of the body. The festivities connected with the feast of the Saturnalia in the month of December cause Seneca to remark that the love of pleasure has now so possessed the minds of men that the Saturnalia may be said to last the whole year through. A consideration of the fashionable life at Baiae, the famous pleasure resort of the Romans, introduces a discussion on public morals and on the demoralizing effect of luxury. The unusual sensations aroused by passing through the old tunnel on the road from Baiae to Naples leads to a consideration of the unreasoning fear to which men are subject. Many similar concrete approaches to his moralizing might be cited.

Seneca's power as a moral teacher, however, springs from his profound knowledge of the human heart, his deep sympathy for human weakness, and his sure touch as a moral healer. Boissier quotes a French gentleman of the period of the French Revolution who stated that he found the moral epistles of Seneca tedious until the Reign of Terror came; that then, being in daily peril of his life, he came to understand their searching power. As one grows in moral experience, he gradually becomes convinced that, despite the weakness displayed by Seneca himself in many moral crises and despite the many concessions allowed by his system, his teachings are the noblest left us by classical antiquity.

His supremacy as a moral teacher, his approach to some of the teachings of Christianity, and the consequent parallelism between his sayings and many of those found in the New Testament gave rise to a belief, generally discredited

by scholars but not yet entirely given up, that Seneca was personally acquainted with St. Paul and borrowed from him some of his lofty precepts. This belief also was undoubtedly at the bottom of the most famous instance of forgery of Latin epistolography.

In the Haase edition of the epistles of Seneca are fourteen letters purporting to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca. The fact that sixty manuscripts of these letters survive indicates that they were well known before the Reformation. Scholars believe that the forgery took place in the fourth century and that its purpose was to interest Christian readers in Seneca, and pagan readers in Christianity. They are first mentioned by St. Jerome, who states that the only reason that he includes Seneca in a catalogue of the saints is the existence of this widely read collection. St. Augustine repeats what Jerome has said, and during the Middle Ages these letters are frequently mentioned. Modern scholarship rejects them as forgeries, basing its judgment upon the triviality of the thought, the dissimilarity of style to known genuine writings, and the chronological discrepancies.

There is such a remarkable similarity between the thought and expression of Seneca and St. Paul that St. Augustine, earliest of the Christian fathers, about a century and a half after Seneca, styles him "often our own." Somewhat later Lactantius cites similarities between the teachings of the Gospels and the thought of Seneca. He regards him, however, as fundamentally a Stoic, and he is correct in that view. St. Jerome, three hundred and fifty years after Seneca, also speaks of Seneca as "our own," omitting the qualifying "often" of Augustine. From St. Jerome's

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

time on, Seneca was regarded almost as a father of the Church. Lightfoot, in his account of Seneca's relation to St. Paul, cites the interesting fact that "even at the present day, in the marionette plays of his native Spain, 'St. Seneca' takes his place by the side of St. Peter and St. Paul in the representations of the Lord's Passion."

Seneca's message to the modern world, which is best expressed in his epistles, is still vital, and recent criticism tends to give him a higher place than he has lately held as a thinker and moral teacher. Among modern thinkers who have admired him may be mentioned Matthew Arnold, Sainte-Beuve, and Emerson.

We have in the letters of Pliny the Younger, whose most important official activity fell in the reign of Hadrian, the work of a gentleman and a scholar—of a man of talent but not of genius. The letters are filled with subjects of interest in the life of a busy yet thoughtful man who was a polished, urbane member of a highly cultivated circle and intimately acquainted with all who were worth knowing in his day. He considered letter writing an art, and as a result all his letters, even official ones, were composed with great care.

The historical value of the letters is great. They serve to correct the gloomy picture of first-century life as depicted in the annals of court life, in the bitter pages of the satirists, and in the indictments of the moral reformer, by presenting a phase of Roman society that is fundamentally pure, cultured, and inspired by high ideals of duty and public service.

Pliny, to be sure, is revealed as a man inordinately fond

of praise and craving posthumous fame. He was, however, a man of affairs and had held all the important offices of state, culminating in that of the governorship of one of the imperial provinces. His extreme vanity does not in the least impair the value of his testimony as to the moral tone of his age nor, for me, the charm of his writing. In fact, the expression of this vanity in one so fundamentally honorable and likable often adds piquancy to the expression of his thought.

The arrangement of the letters appears to be roughly chronological and shows a painstaking care to secure a sequence that will present a pleasing variety of theme. The collection appears in nine books. A tenth book includes the correspondence with Trajan, the greater part of which relates to official business. In the official letters Pliny appears as a very busy man conscientiously devoted to the wide and exacting tasks of his office. He seems, however, to lack initiative and often appeals to the emperor in cases where it is apparent that he should have made his own decision. The emperor's replies are characterized by great dignity and good sense.

After Pliny's time the letter became more artificial and formal, the substance of it being often quite subordinate to the form. To this type belong the letters of Pliny's tutor, Fronto, to Marcus Aurelius, which are labored in style but reflect the character of the writer as an upright, independent man of limited capacity.

Aurelius Symmachus, famed in his time as an orator and a defender of the old Roman faith, flourished during the last half of the fifth century. He was of a senatorial family

and attained the high positions of prefect of the city and consul. His official reports, which form the tenth book of his correspondence, are the most interesting and valuable part of the work. One of these consists of his petition to have the altar of victory in the hall of the senate restored; he makes a cogent argument, expresses himself happily, and keeps his temper. If we compare the replies of Bishop Ambrose and Prudentius with this, the palm for courtesy and good taste must go to the so-called pagan.

This tenth book bears favorable comparison with the tenth book of Pliny's correspondence. Indeed Symmachus appears in these documents to be a man of stronger and more independent judgment than Pliny. The other nine books, modeled in general on those of Pliny, are inferior to them. They are somewhat wordy and they do not add much to our knowledge of the history of the age. Among them are letters of congratulation, of condolence, of invitation and of introduction, accounts of journeys and the writer's state of health, and so forth.

Of much greater interest are the nine books of correspondence of Sidonius Apollonaris, the most gifted of the Gallo-Romans of the latter part of the fourth century. These letters, numbering about one hundred and fifty, are the best source of information on Roman provincial life during the years of the Western Empire. They are acknowledged to be difficult reading because of their involved and artificial style and are sometimes dull. When Sidonius forgets his rhetoric, however, the letters become natural and consequently easy to read.

Perhaps the historical importance of his letters may be

best judged from a brief sketch of his varied and interesting life. He was a Gaul born at Lyon about 431 A.D., and he died at Clermont about 489; consequently he saw the fall of the Western Empire and is the chief authority for some of the facts of that period. He was twenty-four years old when the Vandals plundered Rome, and he lived to see Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, give place to Odoacer. He knew or corresponded with almost every secular person of importance of the period and he wrote also to the chief church dignitaries of Gaul. He saw the old order pass away but he stood on the very threshold of medieval society.

Like his famous countryman, Gregory of Tours, the first historian of France, he belonged to a senatorial family of the office-holding nobility of Gaul. He was educated in Lyon, the city of his birth, the schools of which ranked next to those of Bordeaux and Toulouse. Oratory was his favorite study. He married a daughter of Avitus, subsequently emperor at Rome, who possessed an estate in Auvergne, between which place and Lyon, Sidonius divided his time. This estate became his on Avitus' death. During his early married life Sidonius visited the court of Theodoric II, Visigothic king at Toulouse, of whom he has left us a vivid description in one of his letters. He accompanied his father-in-law to Rome when the latter was invested with the royal purple. Avitus' subsequent fall was a sad blow to the ambitions of Sidonius. Though he gained the favor of the Emperor Marjorian, Avitus' successor, he was again doomed to disappointment, since that emperor's reign was also brief. Sidonius then retired to his estate in Auvergne, where,

amid delightful surroundings and in the midst of cultured friends, he spent the next six years. Many of his friends from Bordeaux and Narbonne visited him, and some of his most interesting letters date from this period. But he had tasted the pleasure of high position at Rome and he was to a certain extent a disappointed man. His hopes revived when he was selected as chief of an embassy sent to Rome to confer with the Emperor Anthemius. He himself tells us the story of the panegyric that he delivered on the occasion of the emperor's assumption of his second consulship, for which he was rewarded with the prefecture of the city, one of the highest titles under the empire.

After a somewhat troubled term as prefect of Rome, Sidonius received the title of patrician and retired to his estate in Gaul. On the death of the bishop of Clermont, Sidonius, at the age of forty, was prevailed upon to assume the office. He must have been inspired by a sense of duty in taking the position, as he had already attained a much higher position in point of dignity and influence, the office of prefect of Rome and the title of patrician.

While bishop of Clermont he helped the city support the rigors of a protracted siege by Euric, king of the Visigoths. The outcome of the struggle was the cession of Auvergne to the Goths; in consequence Sidonius ceased to be a citizen of the Roman Empire, a circumstance that caused him bitter grief. His beloved Aviticum was confiscated and he was imprisoned for his share in the resistance. After his release he felt keenly his loss of influence and busied himself with his pastoral duties. His fall from high place left him much leisure, a fact to which we owe most of his nine books of

letters. For his friends, fearing that his misfortune might prey upon his mind and cause a mental breakdown, encouraged him to engage in literary activities. Besides his letters he wrote ecclesiastical treatises, which are now lost, and poems—chiefly inscriptions for churches—and panegyrics. He died peacefully at Clermont. Such was the rich and active life many scenes of which are exhibited to posterity in his collection of letters.

In this summary of Roman letter writers we have omitted the Christian fathers. Among those of the period between Fronto and Sidonius who have left collections of letters are Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and a few others. As would be natural to expect, their correspondence deals largely with doctrinal and controversial points. This is true even of Augustine and in consequence his letters do not make that appeal to the modern reader that the deep spiritual contemplation of his confessions does.

The letters of Eunodius, bishop of Pavia, who flourished in the early part of the sixth century, reveal strikingly the deterioration of letter writing from the not-too-high standard of Sidonius. In his correspondence, consisting of two hundred and ninety-seven letters addressed to ecclesiastics, to statesmen, and to his sisters and other relatives, we search in vain for mention of public or political topics.

VI

CLASSICAL PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILESIAN TALE *

SHORT stories of amours, adventure, and magic, such as have for ages flourished in the Orient, became known to the Greeks of Asia Minor. Collections of these tales may have been written down and given the name of the city or region in which they were compiled or whose life they purported to depict. Thus we hear of Milesian tales.¹ Such tales spread to Italy and became popular in Magna Graecia even before they flourished in Greece proper, and the city of Sybaris lent its name to the Sybaritic tales.² Mention is also made of Trojan, Pallenian, Naxian, Sicilian, and Bithynian collections.³

Since the tale of the "Matron of Ephesus" in the *Satyricon* of Petronius (generally regarded as giving a fair idea of what Milesian tales were like) would in all probability belong to an Ephesian collection and since the extant specimen of the Sybaritic contains nothing strikingly characteristic,⁴ not even the element of lewdness supposed to be an essential of the Milesian tale, it seems probable that these different classes were but different names for a general class of stories, the main or sole purpose of which was entertainment.⁵ It was quite natural that those gifted and impres-

* Notes will be found at the end of the paper, on pages 146-147.

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

sionable Ionians of Miletus should excel in this type of story and that the word "Milesian" should come to stand for the whole *genre*. These Milesian tales are of considerable interest as the forerunners of the more elaborate Greek romances⁶ that flourished from the second to the fifth centuries, of which the *Daphne and Chloe* of Longus is the best known. They are the prototypes of those tales so popular in France and Italy, of which Boccaccio's are the most famous.

Parthenius, Vergil's Greek teacher, has been thought to give the clearest idea of what the Milesian tales were, as the following quotation from Dunlop's *History of Fiction* shows:⁷ "But though the Milesian tales have perished, of their nature some idea may be formed from the stories of Parthenius of Nicaea, many of which, there is reason to believe, are extracted from these ancient fables or at least are written in their spirit."

It is indeed likely that those tales the scene of which is laid in Miletus and the theme of which is for the most part inconstancy were derived directly from collections of Milesian tales. It is also true that notes, either by Parthenius or by a later hand, were prefixed to several of the tales, stating that they were taken from Milesian collections. However, it is well known that Parthenius explicitly stated that he composed the thirty-six skeleton tales called *Erotic Experiences* for his friend the Latin poet Cornelius Gallus, to serve as material for elegies and other poems. The very meagerness of those that can with certainty be called Milesian prevents their giving us an adequate notion of what Milesian tales were.

The German scholar Christ, in his *History of Greek Literature*,⁸ suggests that the story of the "Matron of Ephesus" in Petronius furnishes us a good example of the Milesian tale, and this is undoubtedly correct in the early and restricted meaning of the term. To this we may add the stories of the "Lad of Pergamus" and "The Solicitous Mother" in the same work. Christ seems also to make a proper distinction when he says that the forerunners of the Greek novel were the *Milesian Tales* of Aristides and the *Erotic Experiences* of Parthenius.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Crassus*,⁹ indicates clearly the unsavory character of the early Milesian tale. He says, in speaking of the events following the defeat of Crassus, the Roman general at Carrhae:

But the vizier, calling together the senate of Seleusia, laid before it certain books, the work of Aristides, his *Milesiaca*; these had not been forged, but had really been found in the baggage of Roscius and gave the vizier a good opening for directing insulting remarks against the Romans, who not even in time of war could refrain from such writings and doings.

It will be well to note that the word used to designate Milesian tales in the passage just cited is *Milesiaca*, the Greek neuter plural of the adjective meaning Milesian, and that this is the word usually, although not exclusively, employed in Greek in referring to them.

We are to understand that the tales were normally written in prose. Dunlop's remark to the effect that a couplet in Ovid,

Iunxit Aristides Milesia carmina secum
Pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est,

would indicate that some of these tales had been written in verse, is of course based upon reading *carmina*, "songs" or "poems." The reading now universally accepted is *crimina*, "charges." The passage therefore states that the slanderous or rather scandalous Milesian tales that Aristides wrote in connection with his history (for so we understand the words *iuxit secum*) did not cause his banishment.¹⁰

The only evidence that these tales appeared in poetic form is derived from such poems as Phaedrus III, 10, and Babrius 116, where the subject is quite in the style of the early lewd Milesian tale. This, however, is inadequate evidence on which to base a statement that Milesian tales as such were sometimes written in metrical form. That poets of the type of Phaedrus and Babrius should select as a subject for a poem a Milesian theme of the earlier type is quite natural. Had Cornelius Gallus composed elegies upon those themes furnished him by Parthenius and purporting to be derived from Milesian sources, we should hardly classify them as Milesian tales.

This same Aristides is mentioned by Ovid in another couplet wherein he states that Sisenna, a Roman writer, translated¹¹ Aristides and that the latter inserted *risqué* stories¹² in his history. Chassang¹³ suggested that Aristides may have written a history of Miletus and may have cited numerous tales illustrative of Milesian life. This suggestion of Chassang is now quite convincing, since it has been definitely ascertained that the term *Milesiaca* was applied to local histories of Miletus.¹⁴

This view is still further supported by the fact that Aristides wrote a number of local historical works of which

the titles and some fragments have been preserved. Compare, therefore, his title, *Milesiaca*, which we conjecture to be primarily an historical work, with his *Italica*, *Sikelica*, and *Persica*, which we know to be historical works.¹⁵ We seem therefore reasonably justified in stating definitely that the term *Milesiaca* was first applied to local histories of the city and then to tales illustrative¹⁶ of Milesian life and characterized by lubricity, such tales in fact as are referred to in Plutarch.

That Aristides was the collector of these tales rather than their author and that the term came to be applied to lewd stories in general are hypotheses at least suggested in the *Amores* of Lucian.¹⁷ It is generally conceded that this work is falsely attributed to Lucian, but for our purpose the particular author is a matter of indifference. A character in the work, speaking of certain lewd stories, said that he might well believe that he was Aristides listening in delight to Milesian tales.

The first step, therefore, in the use of the term *Milesiaca* was its application to local histories of Miletus; the second step, its use to signify stories illustrative of Milesian life and generally characterized by lubricity. The third and last step in the extension of the term is suggested by a passage in the life of Albinus in the *Augustan Histories*.¹⁸ In a letter sent to the senate by Severus, he remarks that among other facts he is grieved to see that many of them praise Albinus for his devotion to literature, while as a matter of fact he is interested in childish nursery rhymes and wastes his time on Apuleius' tales and in literary dilettantism.¹⁹ Now in the Latin the adjective *Milesia* with the word *fabula* or *historia*

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

understood is usually employed to signify "Milesian tale." In the passage to which reference is made, the phrase *inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui* is used, and the word *Milesias* has to such an extent lost its original meaning, "Milesian," that it is used as a noun and is itself modified by the adjective *Punicas*. The two words mean "African Tales of Apuleius," so-called of course because Apuleius was a native of Africa. A prettier bit of evidence could not be adduced to prove that the word *Milesia* is here used in the general sense of "tale"; and this is the third step in the application of the term.

The interesting question arises as to how early this broader interpretation was applied to the term, for it is highly probable that such a meaning would be acquired only by gradual growth. There is nothing very conclusive on this point, but we may venture a suggestion. The episode of "Cupid and Psyche"²⁰ in Apuleius is called by him a Milesian tale.²¹ This tale is undoubtedly of popular origin and in no sense an invention of Apuleius. The treatment of the myth as an erotic romance is quite in the style and taste of the Alexandrian school, which in its first or literary period flourished from about 323 to 30 B. C. If this story in the form transmitted by Apuleius owes its peculiar treatment as an erotic romance to the influence of Alexandria, we may place it before 30 B. C. and perhaps well along toward 100 B. C., the conjectured time of Aristides'²² death.

It may therefore be safe to say that the term "Milesian" was applied certainly in the second century A. D. and perhaps as early as 100 B. C. to any tale written or narrated for

entertainment and was, indeed, the short story of antiquity. That this last statement is true will be seen more clearly after an examination of the *Metamorphoses*, popularly known as the *Golden Ass of Apuleius*, the immediate precursor of the Greek romance. There is, however, this difference among others between the *Metamorphoses* as a whole and the Greek romances: the Greek works are erotic romances; in Apuleius love is entirely episodic.

That the work of Apuleius is nothing but a collection of loosely connected Milesian tales in the broader sense of the term is clearly indicated by the author himself in his introductory remarks, where he writes: "I will now string together various tales in that Milesian style which is familiar to you."²³ As a matter of fact, the story of the *Metamorphoses*, told in the first person by Lucius, a young Greek, from the beginning of his adventures to the end, when he makes his entrance into the order of the priests of Isis, serves as a means of joining together a number of stories on a wide range of subjects. Some of these are partly stories of experiences of Lucius himself and some are narratives entirely distinct from the main plot, but told by characters appearing in it. This device is familiar to us from its use in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. It is therefore by an examination of this treasure house that we form our clearest conception of the scope and character of the Milesian tales as the term seems to have been used shortly after the time of Aristides. There are readily detected thirteen tales entirely distinct from the main narrative; fifteen, if we divide the robber's tale into its three separate parts.

These tales are exceedingly varied in character. There

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

is the early lubricious Milesian type, as exemplified by the "Tale of the Tub" and "The Fuller's Wife," both of which reappear in Boccaccio; the merely *risqué* type, such as that of "The Lost Slippers"; the tale of "The Enamoured Stepmother"; and the cruel vengeance of "The Jealous Wife"; several tales of witchcraft, undoubtedly of folklore origin; the celebrated tale of "Cupid and Psyche"; the elaborately tragic story of "Tlepolemus and Charite"; and several others.

The plots vary from that of a simple incident as narrated in the tale of "Diophanes the Chaldaean," to the intricate and involved plot of the tale of "The Jealous Wife." In length they run from about a page of the Teubner text to the fifty pages of "Cupid and Psyche."

THE APULEIAN SHORT STORY

In reading over these tales with an idea to classification, one finds that love or one of its debased relations, passion or lust, may be said to form the foundation for the greater number of them. But one loses sight of this in wonder at the involved plot. Many of the tales show much unconscious humor, which renders them highly entertaining; in some of the others we enjoy laughing with the author instead of at him.

Diophanes the Chaldaean.—The tale of the false prophet simply makes an appeal to one's sense of humor. A merchant, whose only stock in trade is his nimble wit and whose place of business is any street corner, professes to be able to foretell fortunate dates for journeys and is prospering exceedingly.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

A grateful merchant has just received definite information as to exactly the best moment for dispatching a vessel laden with rich merchandise and is generously counting out a hundred pieces of gold for the seer when the latter, feeling his cloak pulled from behind, turns, recognizes an old friend, and engages enthusiastically in conversation with him. "And tell me," says the friend, "how did your journey speed after I left you?"

The seer, carried away by the memories of his terrible misfortunes, overwhelms his friend with a sad tale of shipwreck and loss of property, which left him only his life to be grateful for. Loud and mocking laughter from the throng about causes him to turn in time to see his disillusioned patron hurriedly seizing his gold and departing.

The Lost Slippers.—The story of Senator Barbarus in this tale, his jealousy of his beautiful wife and the pleasant dénouement owing to the quick wit of her lover, emphasizes this gentleman's cleverness to such an extent that jealousy, intrigue, and unfaithfulness become minor incidents of the history.

That his beautiful wife may not even be looked upon by any one other than himself is the chief desire of Senator Barbarus. During a necessary absence he confides her to the care of a confidential slave, who is strictly warned not to lose sight of her, indeed, not to loose his grasp of her garment in his master's absence.

A young man who has heard rumors of the lady's beauty offers the slave a large sum of money for himself and another for his mistress if she consents to receive him as a lover during her husband's absence. Cupidity triumphs

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

over the virtue of both slave and lady. The lover is admitted and the doors barred, but soon the master unexpectedly returns. The lover hastily escapes by a back door; the master comes in, somewhat suspicious because of the locked door and the delay. In the morning he sees a pair of slippers in his wife's room. He orders the slave bound and is leading him to the torture when the lover, seeing the sad procession, hurls himself upon the bound slave, beating him and demanding his slippers, which he says the slave stole at the baths the day before.

The senator, with the readiness to be convinced of the falsity of his suspicions that goes far toward making such a tale move smoothly, has the slave unbound, bids him return the slippers, and feels gratitude toward the young man who has saved him from illtreating a faithful servant.

The Robber's Tales.—The humor of the robber's tales, the three told by a member of the band, seems to lie mainly in one's constant and somewhat ludicrous feeling of surprise at being given the robber's point of view in sharp contrast to the conventional attitude of the possessor of portable property.

The first tale is of the bravery and death of Lamachus. The robbers, approaching Thebes, inquired as to the financial rating of the inhabitants and decided to turn their attention to a certain miser.

In the dead of night the leader approached the humble dwelling. He put his hand through the orifice intended for the insertion of the key, meaning to raise the bars. We are told that he did this "in all the confidence of his tried valor." But the miser, "that vilest of all two-footed things,"

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

was ready for him. In a silence that seemed to the narrator inexcusably deceitful, he crept to the door and drove a spike through the hand of the brave Lamachus, pinning him to the door. Then the miser, ascending to the roof, called upon his neighbors for aid.

It is significant that he did not call for aid against the robbers, but asked them to aid him in putting out a sudden fire that had started in his house and would likely threaten theirs. This appeal to self-interest was successful. As the neighbors gathered, the robbers were in a quandary. They must decide between saving themselves and deserting their comrade. Finally they struck off the arm at the shoulder and took with them all that was left of their brave comrade.

It is explained that the wound was swathed in cloths "lest the blood might betray our course." However, Lamachus could not keep up. He begged his comrades to kill him. When no one of them would do this, he kissed his sword again and again and drove it into his breast with the hand that was left him. They committed his body to the sea "and there lies our brave Lamachus with a whole element for his grave."

The next of the robber band to lose his life seems to have been at fault in two respects. He was careless, for his comrade tells us that upon breaking into an old woman's cottage, he should have strangled her. He neglected this precaution and proceeded to throw her belongings out of the window to the other members of the band who waited below.

When everything was gone except the coverlet that enveloped the old woman sleeping all this time, the robber

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

fell a victim to his second failing. He was too greedy, for he felt that he must have the coverlet. So he threw the occupant of the bed upon the floor. The "wicked old woman" promptly asked him why he was presenting all her belongings to her rich neighbors, whose house the window overlooked.

Alcimus was of so simple a mind that he was deceived by the cunning of this wily speech. He leaned out of the window; the aged sinner gave him a push, and he fell upon a stone and broke and shattered the framework of his ribs. He lived long enough to tell his comrades what had happened. Then he gave up the ghost and they buried him as they had Lamachus.

We cannot but feel that the narrator has cleverly led up to a climax, for the third tale is much more elaborate than the other two. We are presented with a picture of a show of gladiators to be given by Demochares of Plataea and hardly enough can be said in praise of his gentle birth, his great generosity, and his wealth.

He had collected skilled gladiators, experienced hunters, and criminals guilty of horrible crimes, these last to be used as a feast for the wild beasts. A wonderful contrivance of towers built of wood, resembling a house on wheels and decorated with paintings, was used as an ornamental cage for wild beasts. Here follows a description of the animals. We learn that Demochares "had been at great pains to procure these noble sepulchers for condemned felons, importing them even from foreign lands." But he specialized in bears, and bears did not thrive. In every open space of the town they lay dying in agony. In

spite of the fact that the bears succumbed to a pestilence, the poor people hastened to partake of these banquets spread thus freely for them.

And now the stage being set, the actors appear. Two of the robbers conceive a brilliant plan for making some of the wealth of the good Demochares their own. Carrying the carcass of a very large bear to their abode, they skin it carefully, leaving the head and claws entire. While the skin dries, they enjoy a diet of the flesh and perfect their plan. Some one very brave and strong is to hide himself in the skin and assume the appearance of a bear. He is to be introduced into the house of Demochares, and in the dead of the night he is to admit his comrades. There are many volunteers, but Thrasyllus is chosen. Sewn into the skin, his head pushed into the cavity of the mouth, and holes pierced in the eyes and nostrils that he may not be suffocated, he is placed, now a "perfect" beast, in a cage.

And now the subtlety of the plot becomes evident. The robbers learning of a friend of Demochares, a hunter, forge a letter from him in which he begs Demochares to accept the first fruits of a hunting trip, the bear. The recipient, delighted, gives orders to place the new bear with the others. But when he is reminded by the robbers that the other bears are ill and that the new bear will be better out of the sun for a time, preferably in his house, Demochares, with a commendable readiness to act upon a suggestion, promptly has the bear placed in the house.

Everything seems propitious. The robbers strolling into the country find an ancient tomb; wrenching the tops from the coffins, they prepare to use them as a repository for the

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

rich booty they anticipate. Coming at the appointed time, they find that Thrasyllus has done his part; the guards are dead and the doors open.

According to their plan, the robbers, with as much treasure as they can carry, hasten to the tomb to deposit it, leaving only one man on guard, for they argue that any one who might awaken and see the fierce bear roaming about would hasten to barricade himself in his own apartment. A slave does awake, but does not react as expected. He runs away indeed, but only to alarm the household. A mob of men gathers, every one armed. Shaggy dogs are there. The narrator, hiding behind a door, witnesses the thrilling conflict. Thrasyllus never for one moment forgets his character. He fights like a wild beast. The description of his brave struggle is harrowing. "Mangled by hounds' teeth and maimed by steel, yet he roared and bellowed continually with the voice of a wild beast; he endured his sufferings with noble constancy, and though he yielded up his life to fate, he made fame his own forever."

The Three Brothers.—A gloomy recital of murder and suicide is the tale of the three brothers. These young men, sons of a wealthy farmer, hasten to the support of a poor friend who is in danger of being deprived of his small property by a rich tyrant. The oppressor, reminded by the youngest of the brothers that the law is no respecter of persons and will protect the poor against the brutality of the rich, becomes so angry that he looses against the poor man and his friends a number of great savage dogs.

One brother is pulled down and killed, in spite of the fact that the others hasten to his rescue. After the second

brother is slain by a spear, the third, feigning to be wounded, avenges his brothers by killing the tyrant and then, before he can be taken by the slaves who rush upon him, ends his own life. This is the most depressing of all the stories.

Eaten Alive.—Another, hardly less dark in hue, is that of the slave who was devoured by ants. A certain slave, who had entire charge of his master's household, loved a free woman belonging to a neighboring family. His wife, a slave of the same household as himself, was so angered because of his unfaithfulness to her that she burned all his account books and indeed all the contents of the house. Then she hanged herself and her child.

The master, to punish a slave whose conduct had impelled his wife to this action, had him stripped and smeared all over with honey. Then he was bound to a hollow fig tree that was infested with ants. Attracted by the smell of the honey, they fastened upon the body of the slave in swarms. The man's flesh was stripped from his bones, which were left gleaming white on the tree.

In two of the stories under discussion, the witch motif is brought out most prominently. While the superstructure of the first tale rests upon the scorned affection and that of the second upon the illicit love of the respective heroines, both stories impress us principally because of the gruesome details, such as the lopping off of noses and ears, the tearing out of hearts, and the changing of shape, which are characteristic of the true witch tale.

The Tale of Aristomenes, the Commercial Traveler.—With a minuteness of detail that goes far to make one feel

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

that all that follows is authentic, Aristomenes, a commercial traveler, tells of his arrival in Hypata, how his business there had sped, how, wearied, he had gone to the baths "just as the evening star was rising." And how surprised he had been at the sight of his friend Socrates clad only in filthy rags.

When he had given Socrates all the home news and had fed and clothed him, he was rewarded for his kindness by the history of all that had befallen his friend. Socrates on his way home from Macedonia, whither he had gone on business, planned to stop at Larissa to witness a show of gladiators, when he was attacked by robbers and lost everything that he possessed.

Upon arriving at an inn, he was fed, comforted, and accepted as a lover by the landlady, whose name was Meroe. She took all his earnings, even all the clothes the robbers had left him; but when Aristomenes characterized her and her conduct in an uncomplimentary manner, poor Socrates hastened to exclaim, "Not a word against that divine woman, lest the recklessness of your speech do you a hurt!"

Thereupon Socrates described the power of Meroe. "She can call down the sky, hang earth in heaven, freeze fountains, melt mountains, raise the spirits of the dead, send gods to hell, put out the stars, and give light to Tartarus itself."

"I beseech you," said Aristomenes not unreasonably, "clear away your tragic curtain, roll up your drop scene, and speak in ordinary language." Thus besought, Socrates told of the horrors wrought by Meroe and of the dread punishment meted out to any who tried to oppose her.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

Much terrified, Aristomenes felt that the witch probably already knew all that they had been saying. He counseled flight at dawn, but found that Socrates, who was very tired and had drunk much wine, was already asleep. So Aristomenes made everything as secure as possible, placing his truckle against the door.

He was barely asleep when the hinges were broken, the doors battered to the ground, and his bed overturned. Falling to the ground, he was shielded by the bed and saw two women enter. One carried a bright lantern, the other a sponge and naked sword. Meroe, standing by Socrates' bed, said to her companion, "This, sister Panthia, is my sweet Endymion, my Ganymede, who has made light of my love, and, not content with slandering me, he now seeks to fly from me, while I, like a second Calypso deserted by the wily Ulysses, must bewail my loneliness forever." She also made it quite clear to Aristomenes that she knew of his presence and of the fact that he had proposed the departure.

As she talked she became enraged and proposed killing him at once, but the "good Panthia" expressed a preference for tearing Socrates limb from limb, and Meroe finally decided that Aristomenes might live so that there would be some one to bury Socrates. Plunging her dagger into Socrates' throat, she caught the blood in a bladder, then thrust her hand into the wound and dragged forth his heart.

All the time Socrates continued to utter a shriek that gurgled indistinctly through the wound. The good Panthia used her sponge to "block the wound where it gaped widest," but she adjured it to have a care lest, "child of the

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

sea, thou cross running water." Then the witches departed and the doors rose up and resumed their former position and became bolted and barred.

Aristomenes for the second time decided to fly. The porter refused to open the door of the inn and became unpleasantly personal in his inquiries as to the safety of Socrates.

With no course left to him but to return to the scene of the murder, Aristomenes decided to end his life. Taking the rope from the truckle bed, he cast one end over a beam and made the other into a noose. Then he climbed upon the bed to launch himself to destruction, but as he pushed away the support, the rope broke and he fell upon Socrates. They rolled together to the floor. Just then the porter burst into the room, loudly demanding the man who had been in such a hurry to depart. Socrates arose. He complained of the noise that had broken in upon his delightful sleep. Aristomenes was so overjoyed to find Socrates alive and to know that he could not now be accused of murder that he embraced and kissed his friend, much to the indignation of the latter.

Aristomenes urged that they start at once. Once well on the way, he looked curiously at Socrates. No wound, no sponge. He told himself that he had taken too much wine and confided to Socrates that he had passed a dreadful night filled with horrid dreams. Socrates said that he too had a dream in which he thought that his throat was cut. He added that he was even then faint and needed food to restore his strength. So they sat under a tree to eat their breakfast and Socrates became thinner and thinner while

his face grew yellow and his strength failed fast. Then he became very thirsty and went to a near-by stream to drink. But as he knelt "a wound gaped wide and deep in his throat," a sponge dropped out, and the body would have fallen into the stream had not Aristomenes dragged it to the top of the bank. After bewailing his comrade he laid him in the shallow grave predicted by Meroe.

Telyphron's Tale of the Witches.—The second witch tale is of a much more complicated nature. The favorite feature of the supernatural is introduced, and the climax is as great a surprise to the reader as it was to the narrator of the tale.

Telyphron, a young man, tells us of his adventures. Reaching Larissa in the course of his travels, he found himself in pressing need of money. Hearing a crier offering his own price to anyone who would watch a corpse, he somewhat flippantly asked a passerby if the corpses were in the habit of running away. The man rebuked Telyphron, reminding him that he was young and a stranger sojourning in the place peculiarly known as the home of witches. The witches, he said, lay in wait to mutilate the faces of the dead in order to procure ingredients for their magic charms. If a watcher allowed the face of a corpse to be mutilated, he must allow portions to be cut from his own face to replace those taken.

Undismayed, Telyphron offered his services to the crier, who at once led him to the beautiful lady whose husband was dead. In the presence of seven witnesses the widow made an inventory of the features and their condition at the time of Telyphron's arrival. Telyphron locked the door

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

and, much exhausted, went to sleep soon after he had driven away a weasel that had approached and looked fixedly at him.

He did not awaken until dawn, when, filled with fear lest the corpse had been mutilated, he rushed to look at it and found that it was unimpaired. When the widow entered with her witnesses she was overjoyed, ordered the watcher paid, and said that she should count him among her friends in the future. Telyphron's reply to the effect that she might count upon him whenever she had need of his services was considered of such ill omen that the lady's servants set upon him, beat and bruised him, and tore his clothes.

As he was recovering from this hard treatment, the funeral procession of the young man passed through the market place. An old man, weeping and tearing his hair, threw his arms about the bier and accused the widow of the dead man of having murdered him that she might have his money and please her lover. The widow denied her guilt, appealing with tears to all the gods of heaven.

Thereupon the old man produced an Egyptian prophet, who had agreed to recall the dead man to life for a brief space. After an impressive ceremonial, the corpse sat up, begging to be allowed to rest. But the prophet angrily commanded him to throw light upon the mystery of his death. Thereupon the dead man wearily said that his wife had poisoned him that she might give herself to her lover. There ensued an argument between the wife, who maintained her innocence, and the corpse, and each had supporters in the throng about.

Finally, to prove his truthfulness, the corpse promised to tell something that he alone knew. He said that the witches had thrown a pall over the watcher of the night before. Then they had repeatedly called the name of the corpse until he felt that he must rise and go to them. Strange to relate, his name and that of the watcher were identical, and it was the latter who finally arose and went to the door. There, reaching through the chink of the door, the witches had lopped off the nose and ears of the young man, and, in order that he might not discover his loss, had put features made of wax in place of those they had taken. Upon hearing this astounding statement, Telyphron put his hands to his ears and they dropped off; to his nose, and it fell off. He had no heart to return to his home and was from then an exile.

The Jealous Wife.—Of all these stories, none of which is poor in plot, the tale of the woman who murdered her husband's sister is most notable because of its wealth in this respect.

A woman, whose husband is about to start on a journey, is told by him that if their child soon to be born is a girl, it must be put to death. When the girl baby is born, the mother cannot bear to have it killed. She places it in the family of a neighbor to be reared.

When the girl has grown to a marriageable age, the fact that she can give her daughter no dowry so oppresses the mother that she confides the whole story to her son. He promptly agrees to take the girl into his family, provide her with a dowry, and marry her to one of his own dear friends.

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

It is necessary to conceal the identity of the girl, and his wife becomes jealous of her. Going into the country, she sends a faithful slave with a message to the girl, requesting her to come unattended to the country house. Since her brother's signet ring is shown her when the message is delivered, the girl, who is devoted to her brother, has no hesitation in obeying his command. The jealous wife springs upon her from ambush, illtreats and wounds her, and finally, in spite of the fact that the girl discloses the true relationship between herself and her assailant's husband, murders her in a manner too horrible to relate.

The husband and the young girl's fiancé bury her, and the former is so affected by grief that he becomes ill. The wife goes to a physician and offers him a large sum of money if he will sell her some poison. In the presence of the household the physician offers the sick man the cup. To his horror the wife demands that he take part of the draught as proof that he has no intention of poisoning her husband. The physician, speechless before the audacity of this abandoned woman, drinks part of the poison, offering the remainder to the sick man, who takes it readily. The wife manages to keep the physician in the house so long that he cannot save his life by an antidote. He lives long enough, however, to tell his wife what has happened and to bid her collect the reward promised him.

When the physician's widow asks for the money, it is promised her at once and she is asked if she cannot find a little more of the same potion. Overjoyed at the promise of payment, she brings the whole casket. With this power for evil in her hands, the wicked woman decides to murder

her little daughter, who will otherwise inherit her father's property. Arranging a luncheon party, she poisons not only her daughter, but the physician's widow as well. The child dies at once, but the older victim lives long enough to tell the governor about the crimes, and their perpetrator is sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts.

In addition to the fact that this somewhat tiresome tale has such an involved plot, one notices the effect upon the narrator as the story proceeds and the full enormity of the wickedness of the principal character affects his judgment. When the physician is applied to for the poison, we are told that he is notorious for his perfidious villainies; when, tricked by the woman to whom he has sold the poison, he dies, he is that "most admirable physician."

The Enamoured Stepmother.—Only second to the tale just told, in the depth of the wickedness of its heroine, is that of the stepmother who loved her husband's son. If the author had been upholding the truth of the assertion that "hell hath no fury like a woman scorned," he could have brought forward no more convincing incidents.

The stepmother is beautiful and the mother of a son, but her passion for her stepson is so great that she is ill because of it. The stepson is pictured as a model youth devoted to his books. When his stepmother declares her passion, he promptly suggests that they must say nothing more of it until his father goes away. It is his intention to go away himself to escape the unwelcome advances of his father's wife, but before he can do so his father goes upon a long journey. When the stepmother is taught by the numerous excuses returned in answer to her various messages that her affection is unwelcome, her love turns to bitterest hate.

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

The usual faithful slave procures the usual poison to administer to the offender, but it is taken by the younger son, who dies. The father, hastily summoned, is told a horrible tale of the depravity of his elder son. Because his stepmother repelled his advances, he has poisoned her son in revenge and now plots to destroy her because she has detected his guilt. Beside himself with grief, the poor father buries his dead son; then he rushes into the market place, demanding the punishment of the living one.

The trial is held. The stepmother's faithful slave testifies that the young man, angered because of his stepmother's obduracy, had procured poison, which he commanded the slave to give to the little brother; that he offered a rich reward and threatened death if his command were not obeyed. That finally he had administered the potion with his own hand, fearful lest the slave should not do so. The senators, all believing in the guilt of the accused, are about to condemn him to death, when the most respected of them, putting his hand over the mouth of the vase into which the voting pebbles were to be cast, tells a strange story.

The slave had applied to him for a swift poison for which he offered to pay a large sum. He had given the potion, but as his suspicions had been aroused, he had made an excuse by which he had managed to have the slave's seal affixed to the bag of coins paid him. Although the seal affixed to the bag of coins proves to be the same as that on the slave's ring, the latter still maintains the truth of his story.

Then the physician says that the drug that he gave to the slave was mandrake, which does not kill but induces

a deep sleep. If it has been administered to the boy, he will now be on the point of awakening. They go to the tomb and find the boy just emerging from the trance. The slave is sentenced to be crucified; the stepmother is banished for life; the father who had believed himself bereft of both sons is now happy in their possession.

The Tragedy of Tlepolemus and Charite.—The story of Tlepolemus and Charite, their love for each other and their death, and of the villain of the piece, Thrasyllus, is the most symmetrically developed of all the tales we are to consider.

Charite, beautiful and charming, after being sought in marriage by many suitors, is married to Tlepolemus. Thrasyllus, violently in love with her, has been rejected by her parents because of his dissipated life and evil associates. His passion for the bride of Tlepolemus does not wane, and he ingratiates himself with the wedded pair and becomes an intimate of the husband.

Together they go to hunt roe deer, for Charite fears some injury to her husband if he seek fiercer game. Tlepolemus and Thrasyllus are mounted, their servants on foot. Suddenly a wild boar springs from the forest. "With mighty muscles standing out, with bristling hair rising along his spine, he rushes out, gnashing his teeth in his rage, foaming at the mouth, while his eyes seem to flash forth flame." Upon the proposal of Thrasyllus, the friends start in pursuit of the boar. It turns upon Tlepolemus and he, hard pressed, calls to his friend for aid. The servants have already run away. Thrasyllus attacks instead of aiding Tlepolemus and maims his horse. Fearful lest the tusks of

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

the furious boar may not inflict fatal wounds, he adds several thrusts of his spear.

When Charite learns of the death of her husband, she rushes wildly through the street to throw herself upon his body, and is only prevented by force from joining him in death. It is Thrasyllus who later rouses her to take some interest in life. And when she seems reconciled to life he urges his proposals upon her, this time with the consent of her parents.

And now the shade of Tlepolemus appears to Charite in her sleep and tells her of the guilt of Thrasyllus. Her whole energy seems now to be directed to revenge. She conceals her loathing of her wicked suitor and gives hopeful promises for the future. And when he urges her to accept him at once as her lover, she apparently yields, only stipulating that he come secretly, since her husband's death is so recent.

On his arrival, a servant plies him with drugged wine. When he is unconscious, Charite blinds him by plunging through his eyes again and again a pin from her hair. Then, in spite of those who would have restrained her, Charite kills herself at her husband's tomb and Thrasyllus, awaking to the horror of all that he has done, has himself locked in the tomb of those he has so wronged and dies of starvation.

The Tale of the Tub and The Fuller's Wife.—The "Tale of the Tub" and the story of "The Fuller's Wife" serve to bring into prominence that element of lubricity that is recognized as one of the characteristics of the early Milesian

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

tale. The "Tale of the Tub" is well known, as Boccaccio has used it in his *Decameron*. "The Fuller's Wife" is an involved tale of intrigue, which also appears in the *Decameron*.

Cupid and Psyche.—The far-famed tale of "Cupid and Psyche" is one of the best-known tales of antiquity. It has inspired many a work of art, and if known to comparatively few in the original, the exquisite translation of it in Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, La Fontaine's version, and perhaps above all, for English readers, the poetical rendering by William Morris in the *Earthly Paradise* have made it well known in modern times. It is undoubtedly folklore in origin but has been worked over into the form of an erotic romance with a very slight element of allegory.

With the possible exception of the tale of "Diophanes, the Chaldaean," these are tales of action. One readily sees the tremendous possibilities open to a narrator of vivid imagination. When Socrates tremblingly tells of the dread deeds of the witch in punishing her enemies, the reader is tempted to add something of his own, so stimulated are his inventive powers.

The supernatural element is a favorite and striking feature, and the shades have as much individuality as their prototypes. At times the appearance of the shade is necessary, as in the second witch's tale. In the instance cited, the husband's spirit came unwillingly, but, having come, argued vigorously with the wife who had poisoned him, and then and there to prove his veracity furnished the point of the whole tale by disclosing what the witch had done to Telyphron. In striking contrast, the shade of Tlepolemus

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

need not have come at all, for Charite must already have suspected what he came to disclose. But he was a gentle, affectionate, resigned spirit and a decided aid in adding to the thrill that these tales could not have failed to induce.

In the story of "The Lost Slippers," the central figure is, rather surprisingly, the lady's lover. His ready wit and kind heart, as shown in saving a slave from torture, make him a personality, a rare thing in the stories under discussion, in which characterization is noticeably absent. Another personality is Charite, a well-delineated character; to learn that she is a virtuous wife is something of a relief after one has read so many accounts of readily accepted lovers and deceived husbands.

With very few exceptions we are shown puppets whose strings are pulled by the author. As a result there is manifest a striking readiness to act in a way to promote the plot. And such a wealth of plot! The villains are nearly all feminine and are painted as absolutely unscrupulous. Confidential slaves abound who are ever ready to plan murders and to bring necessary potions from unscrupulous physicians.

In these days of psychological studies the very objectivity of these always simple, though involved, tales is somewhat restful. One can feel sure that the person who is to be deceived will yield readily to the most transparent attempt to hoodwink him; that the good will ultimately triumph in almost every case; that punishments will be bloodcurdling in their cruelty; that ghosts will walk; and that, while robbers nearly always die, yet undying fame is theirs forever. We gain, too, an interesting picture of the time. In those days in Thessaly, the land of magic, where wild beasts,

robbers, inky blackness, and every kind of danger threatened from without, these melodramatic tales told in wayside inns by commercial travelers, by servants, and sometimes even by one of the leading characters, could rarely fail to produce the most telling effect.

NOTES

¹The most complete account of this obscure type may be found in *Philologus* LXVI, *Zu Milesiaca des Aristides*. The conclusions there deduced differ somewhat from those suggested in this article.

²Sybaritic tales are mentioned by Aelian in his *Historiae Variae*, XIV, 20. The story he cites, mildly facetious in character, is the sole extant specimen.

³Notes prefixed to the sketches of Parthenius state that they were derived from collections called *Troica*, *Palleniaca*, *Naxiaca*, *Sicelica*, *Bithynica*, as well as *Milesiaca*. See, however, what is said concerning local histories on page 122. For this type of title as applied to romances, compare the titles of some of the full-length Greek romances of a later period, the *Babylonica* of Iamblichus, the scene of which is laid in Babylonia; the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus; the *Cyprica* of Xenophon of Cyprus and the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus.

⁴But see Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 587.

⁵A suggestion somewhat similar is made by Purser in the excursus on the Milesian tale in his excellent edition of *Cupid and Psyche*.

⁶The third edition (1914) of Rohde's work cited above contains a résumé by Schmid of the latest discoveries and theories in regard to the Greek romances. The most illuminating work, however, on the Greek novel is the extensive study that forms the introduction to Calderini's translation, *Le avventure di Cherea e Calliroe*, Turin, 1913.

⁷Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (revised by Wilson), Vol. I, chap. i, p. 11.

⁸*Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (4th revised ed.), p. 846.

⁹Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*, p. 32.

¹⁰Rohde (*Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, 128) understands *secum* to refer to *crimina* and the phrase to mean "joined together the trifling Milesian tales."

¹¹There are preserved of this translation nine short fragments. Of these only numbers 1, 2, and 9 are suggestive of the character of the tales:

(1) *Nisi comminus excidisset, quanti dantur? tanti inquit Olympias; simul hoc dicens suavius dedit*, indicating a love tale.

(2) "*Proin dato aliquid quod domi habebis*," inquit, "*quod tibi non magni stabit*," suggestive of the wheedling words of a courtesan.

(9) Indicative of their lewdness. Peter, *Fr. Hist. Rom.* (2d ed.), I, 297.

PREDECESSORS OF THE SHORT STORY

¹² *Vertit Aristiden Sisenna nec obfuit illi.*

Historiae turpes inseruisse iocos.—*Trist.* II, 443.

Rohde (*Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 128) understands *historiae* to mean Sisenna's activity as an historian. Our interpretation is that of Heinsius and supports our understanding of the phrase *secum* in the couplet previously cited.

¹³ *Histoire du Roman dans l'Antiquité.*

¹⁴ Vogt, *Jahrb. f. Phil. Suppl.*, XXXVII, 699. For the general subject of local histories see Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 575. Cf. also Rohde (3d ed.), Schmid's appendix, p. 617.

¹⁵ For the fragments of Aristides consult Müller, *Hist. Graec.*, IV, 320 ff. Our argument presumes that the Aristides who wrote the *Milesiaca* and he who wrote the historical works are one and the same individual.

¹⁶ For a convincing refutation of the theory that the *Milesiaca* was a full-length novel rather than a collection of short stories, consult Rohde, "Zum griechischen Roman," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVIII, 110 ff.

¹⁷ Lucian, *Amores* I.

¹⁸ Peter, *Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, Vol. I, Clodius Albinus, XII, 12, *maior fuit dolor quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Melesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret.*

¹⁹ In chapter ii of the same work we learn that Albinus' interest in Milesian tales was not confined to reading them: *Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur quamvis mediocriter scriptae sunt.*

²⁰ On the folklore element in this tale consult Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, IV, 88–123, also Reitzenstein's brilliant study, *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius*. J. E. Schroeder's *De amoris et Psyches Fabella Apuleiana nova quadam ratione explicata* is an application of Freud's sex obsession theory to the tale.

²¹ Apul. Met. IV, 33, *propter Milesiae conditorem*. Some suppose that the word *Milesiae* refers to the work as a whole. It seems more natural to understand it as referring to the particular tale then being told. This interpretation is at least supported by the fact that the shrine of Apollo near Miletus has been mentioned just previously in connection with this story. It is also significant that the singular, *Milesia*, is used in this connection, while the plural is used in the passage cited from the life of Albinus.

²² Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, p. 320.

²³ Apul. Met. I, 1, *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram*. These words, together with the evidence cited in connection with the story of Cupid and Psyche and with that of the passage from the life of Albinus, seem to prove the point conclusively.

VII

A GREEK CONCEPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

THE following striking statement of Sir Henry Maine stands as a text to Book I of Gomperz' *Greek Thinkers*: "To one small people it was given to create the principle of progress. That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." The more one studies and thinks with this text in mind the greater the marvel grows, for the Greek influence really does extend into fields which, at first thought, it would not seem to have reached. Indeed, in the course of these pages it will be apparent that, though Greece of course had nothing to do with the movement of the blind forces of nature, she had a great deal to do with the explanation of their causes.

The theories of the early Greek philosophers as to the basis of the physical universe, important as they are in the history of human thought, possess at the present time for the most part merely an antiquarian interest. There is, however, one rather notable exception, the Greek atomic theory. This theory is a most striking exemplification of the intuitive faculty of the Greek mind. It was not the result of experiment or observation or conclusions drawn therefrom, but the result of the most abstract metaphysical concepts, and yet in its main outline the hypothesis is indis-

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

pensible to science at the present time. Our colleagues in physics will tell us that recent discoveries with regard to radio-active elements, far from overthrowing the atomic theory, have but made its acceptance the more necessary.

Modern physics postulates that all substances, solids as well as liquids and gases, are composed of minute particles called molecules and that these molecules are in very rapid motion. When the term "molecule" is used exactly, it will indicate the smallest portion of matter that retains its identity as a particular substance. Any further division would destroy the identity of the substance and reduce it to the atom. In the case of the chemical elements the atom and the molecule may be identical.

Recent investigations and discoveries have proved that enormous quantities of energy are locked up in the atoms of all substances. One widely accepted theory would make the atom consist of a nucleus of positive charges of electricity around which the negative electrons rotate rapidly. The physicist has before him the fascinating problem of endeavoring to unlock this store of atomic energy in order to turn it to the uses of man. The atom, therefore, is a live and vital thing, and it may be of some interest to consider the ancient speculations with regard to its nature and behavior.

We shall omit a discussion of the early Greek atomists before Epicurus and merely remark by way of preface that Leucippus, the father of atomists, owed much to the speculations of the Eleatic school, and that Democritus, the immediate precursor of Epicurus, did most for the development of that theory which Epicurus somewhat modified

and adopted as the physical basis of his system of philosophy. We proceed directly to a consideration of this theory as taught by Epicurus and transmitted to us by Lucretius.

It is true that Lucretius did not, so far as we know, make a single contribution to the doctrine as formulated by Epicurus, but our debt to him is great because our understanding of the theory is due almost exclusively to his clear and striking exposition. How great this debt is, may be inferred by a comparison of the bare facts of the physics of the system, as outlined by Epicurus himself in a letter preserved by Diogenes Laërtius, with the vivid account of Lucretius.

We first give a résumé¹ of the theory and then consider how this tallies with known facts and theories at the present time.

There must be, argued Epicurus, as the basis of all existing things, an unchanging and everlasting substance. This substance Epicurus calls atoms. Nothing is ever destroyed, but things are resolved into their primal atoms. The sum total of matter in the universe remains constant. Atoms are invisible; they never have been and never can be seen. Objects are formed by a combination of atoms and have in them void also, the second element in nature. Everything in nature may be reduced to these two terms, body and void, that in which body moves. Neither sense nor reason can grasp any third class. All qualities are either inseparable properties or are accidents of matter or void. Time exists not by itself; from the actions that go on, follows the feeling of past, present, and future. The deeds done at the

¹ Munro's outline is followed for the most part.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

siege of Troy, for example, did not exist by themselves, but were mere accidents of the men there or the places there.

Atoms are absolutely solid, having no mixture of void in them. As there is no object in nature perfectly solid, reason alone assigns this characteristic to atoms. First beginnings are of solid singleness—*solida simplicitate*, as Lucretius puts it—that is, with no mixture of void and absolutely indivisible. Postulate solid atoms, and soft bodies may be explained by the introduction of void into their composition. With soft atoms the existence of hard things cannot be understood. The absolutely solid and indivisible atoms have, nevertheless, theoretical parts, *minimae partes*—"least parts," they are called. These parts have no existence apart from the atom. The atom, therefore, has not been formed from a union of these parts, but this union has existed in it unchanged from eternity. The universe is absolutely limitless; this being so, space and void are infinite. So, too, the sum of things and matter is infinite; for space being infinite, if matter were finite, nothing in being could exist a moment, or rather, nothing could ever have been brought into a state of existence, for it is only by an infinite supply of matter that this earth and heaven can be maintained. As mere blind chance, not Providence, has arranged out of the atoms this and other worlds, these atoms never could have *thus* combined had there not been an infinite supply of them. Atoms move ceaselessly through void of their own inherent motion or it may be after collision with others. Atoms of intricate shape after collision may form a close union and help compose hard bodies; others rebound to greater intervals and keep oscil-

lating through these greater intervals and thus form softer bodies. Lucretius uses the striking illustration of the motes of dust in a sunbeam to illustrate his conception of what must be the motion of atoms. Next considering the motes of dust as they really are—objects formed by the combination of atoms—he argues that the single atoms have combined into very minute objects to which are imparted the inherent motion of the atoms. Then larger combinations are formed until we have the visible mote of dust, with motion imparted by the atom, rising into the field of perception.

The motion of atoms is inconceivably swift. The natural, original movement of atoms is downward. At quite uncertain times and places atoms swerve an imperceptible degree. Were it not for this swerve the continual fall of atoms in perpendicular lines through the infinite void would result in nothing. As a matter of fact they would to all intents and purposes be standing still. The theory of swerve is needed to bring them into collision and admit the creation of the world. This device is also required to break the eternal sequence of cause and effect and admit the principle of free will.

The sum total of the universe was never more nor less than it is now, and the motion that atoms now have they always have had and always will have. Though atoms are in constant motion, yet the whole universe appears to be at rest, because the atoms that compose it are far beneath the ken of our senses.

Atoms are of various shapes, and this difference in shape is the reason for the variation of individuals of a given

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

species. This is also the cause of the difference in volatility of some substances. Lightning can pass where ordinary fire cannot, because its atoms are finer; light passes through horn but water does not; wine runs easily, oil slowly, through a strainer. The difference in the shapes of the atoms that compose the various substances is the cause of these phenomena. The different sensations are also caused by the difference in the shape of the atoms. Honey is sweet, wormwood bitter. The former is composed of smooth, the latter of jagged, atoms.

The number of shapes of atoms is finite though very great; the number of atoms of each shape infinite. The alphabet that we use serves as an illustration. There is a definite number of different letters, but an inexhaustible supply of any particular letter.

Atoms have no color and in fact none of the secondary qualities, such as heat, cold, sound, flavor, smell. A neutral element is needed to form the basis of all created things.

Atoms are without sensibility. All things that have sense come from insensible atoms as a result of the manner in which certain atoms of very subtle nature combine and as a result of the kind of motion brought about by this combination.

Since space is unlimited and atoms infinite in number, it is not reasonable to suppose that this world is the only world, since it has been formed by a chance combination of atoms; there are in other parts of space like combinations of atoms or other worlds and, what is more, inhabited worlds.

As everything in nature grows by gradual steps, by

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

taking unto itself that which it needs until it reaches the acme of its growth, and thereafter begins to wane and finally disappears, so, too, this world of ours will dissolve into its primal elements and the process of rebuilding will begin again and so on *ad infinitum*.

The particular *application* of this theory of atoms that we have just sketched contains little that is true and much that is absurd. An examination of the *doctrines* themselves, however, will reveal the somewhat surprising fact that the main outline of this ancient theory of the constitution of matter is substantially correct even in the light of the most recent experiments.

The statement that nothing is begotten from nothing and that nothing happens without a material cause must be accepted as applied to the material world in order that scientific knowledge may exist at all. Nothing is ever annihilated, but is resolved into its constituent parts. This and the previous statement affirm the constancy of the total quantity of matter—a conception common enough now, but one for which antiquity had not yet the support of scientific proof. The conclusion, as usual, was reached by analogy. There was no proof of the destruction of matter. Change, however, is ever before the eyes. What appears to be destruction is simply change.

For the doctrine of void in things two proofs are adduced. If the universe were packed solid with matter no motion would be possible. This is not so, as we might have re-entering motion and there need be no vacuum. The other proof that the varying density of bodies is only to be explained by the admixture of void is the accepted theory

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

for *ponderable* bodies today. Modern physics asserts, however, that what Lucretius calls void is filled with an imponderable substance called ether. Substitute hypothetical ether for void, and the ancient deduction as to the density of bodies is correct.

Atoms are hard and they are absolutely solid. This is incorrect. Even within our own recollection, however, the atom was described as hard, and we well remember picturing it to ourselves as a minute white billiard ball. Modern physics postulates a soft atom and attributes the hardness of things to the rapid motion of the soft atom.

The reason for the contradictory hypothesis of least parts was doubtless due to the fact that size, shape, and weight were attributed to atoms. Atoms, therefore, have extension, hence parts, and how can that which has parts be indivisible? This theory is of course incorrect. In connection with it, however, one naturally thinks of the electrons of the modern atom.

Nothing exists but matter and void. No third element can be imagined. It is argued that properties and accidents are not entities distinct from matter. This is true, but it does not prove that nothing exists but matter and void.

An attempt is made to show that every fact in the world can be explained by the properties of matter and that matter possesses very few simple properties. This proposition, if restricted to physical facts, is still held as true.

The contention that there must be some unalterable basis of matter, else all things would have been destroyed long ago, seems as sound today as it was in the days of Leucippus.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

The proposition that the difference between all bodies is accounted for by the different arrangement and motion of atoms is sound. That is, matter is conceived as formed by atoms that are in constant motion. This idea so contrary to the evidence of the senses, upon which Epicureanism based all knowledge, is the most striking example of the intuitive quality of the Greek mind; for in the light of modern investigation it has been proved to be perfectly true.

Some writers believe that Lucretius assumes his atoms to be elastic though perfectly solid. It is of course impossible for perfectly solid bodies to be elastic, hence they could not rebound on striking one another. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that Lucretius was ignorant of the fact that perfectly solid bodies could not rebound?

The behavior of the ancient atom after collision is quite in accord with that of its modern descendant, and a chemist or physicist will use terms similar to those of Lucretius in speaking of the collision, deflection, and bombardment of atoms or molecules. He will also speak just as Lucretius does of the oscillation of atoms in more or less dense bodies through greater or less intervals.

Atoms move straight down through void if they do not collide. This is incorrect. Lucretius failed to realize that there is no up or down in infinite space. He speaks of this motion doubtless as relative to the earth. It may be remarked that the difficulty that there is no up or down in infinite space seemed to trouble none of the early atomists who preceded Epicurus. The modern atom is subjected to the influence of the universal law of gravitation and its

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

inherent motion will be similar to the motion of a planetary system. The tremendous velocity of the Epicurean atom receives the support of the exact measurements of the velocity of certain atoms by modern physicists.

The theory of the swerve of atoms has exposed Epicurus to much ridicule, both in ancient and in modern times. Democritus taught that in their fall through void the lighter atoms were overtaken by the heavier and the necessary collision occurred. Aristotle quite naturally objected that such could not be the case, since atoms of whatever weight would, in void, fall with the same rapidity. Epicurus, accepting Aristotle's objection, formulated the theory of the swerve of atoms. This then was a very simple method of explaining creation and free will in man. Having ruled out of the universe everything but matter and void and yet believing in free will, Epicurus boldly endowed his atom with free will, exercised, it seems to us, not constantly but, in Lucretius' words, at quite uncertain times. Guyau, the keenest of the interpreters of Epicurean ethics, claims that this spontaneity is ever inherent in the Epicurean atom. We cannot see that this follows from anything that the ancient authorities say of the system. Lucretius, in stating that the swerve is so minute that it may not be called oblique motion, is following a common practice of materialists in making a difficulty as remote as possible and then disregarding it.

It has been suggested that had Epicurus had but a part of the geometrical knowledge of his contemporary Euclid and also that conception of cosmography that many men then living had, he might have discovered the laws of uni-

versal gravitation and not only the laws but—what was the despair of Newton—its mechanical cause.²

In the statement that the sum total of the universe was never more nor less than it is now and that the motion that atoms now have they always have had and always will have, we find an anticipation of the doctrine of the conservation of energy.

In connection with the discussion of the shapes of atoms Lucretius speaks of the different rates of motion of the atoms, e.g., of a sluggish and a volatile fluid. As he believes that the rate of motion of atoms is constant, for he implies, we think, that the atoms even when they form a mass of iron or stone move as swiftly as they do when streaming through space, we encounter a difficulty. This difficulty or contradiction is due to the failure of Lucretius to distinguish between the molecule and the atom. Had he spoken of a molecule of these fluids, all would be clear. He nowhere, however, so far as we can see, makes this distinction. Giusanni, Lucretius' well-known Italian commentator, claims that he does, basing the claim upon the logic of the statement we are now discussing. The argument does not seem convincing. We detect rather a fault in reasoning on the part of Lucretius. Whether he has correctly interpreted Epicurus or has misunderstood him is not clear. The fact, therefore, that the Lucretian atom had to serve the purpose of the molecule as well, will help explain the conception of atoms of different shapes—smooth, jagged, hooked, and so forth. Crude as this conception appears, it

² "The Atomic Theory of Lucretius," *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1875.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

will be remembered that the conceptions of chemical affinity that have replaced it are equally inadequate for their task and exist as mere conveniences of expression. If Lucretius implies, as we think he does—though we are not absolutely certain—that the motion of atoms in combination is constant, he is not supported by modern investigation. The rate of motion of the molecule or atom of hydrogen has been calculated at sixty-nine miles a minute, that of oxygen something like a fourth less.

Lucretius, in speaking of that combination of insensible atoms that produces sense, clearly indicates that he views life as a mode of motion of the atoms. Disturb this mode and we have unconsciousness; break it up and death ensues. We really know of no more satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon of death at the present time.

As stated before, the specific application of this theory of the constitution of matter contains little that is true and much that is absurd. The outline of the process of creation and of development on earth contains, however, some rather startling anticipations of the future.

At first nothing that now is, was to be seen—sun, stars, earth, sea, or heaven—but a strange chaotic jumble of atoms unable to combine; gradually the different parts of the world began to separate. The heavy particles of earth collected in the middle and squeezed out the lighter atoms of the other parts of the world; ether with its fires burst forth and, collecting on high, formed the outermost sphere of the world; this is what Lucretius designates by the impressive phrase *flammantia moenia mundi*, "the flaming walls of the world." Between this sphere of ether and the

earth, the rudiments of sun, moon, and stars took up their positions; the earth, rid of these lighter particles, sank down still more, where the bed of ocean is, and these depressions were flooded with salt water. The more the earth was beaten upon by the heat of the ether and the sun, the more it was condensed, and thus the ocean was increased by particles of moisture squeezed out of it and the heavens by elements of fire that flew off from it. Thus the earth sank to the bottom, and sea, air, and ether were left separate—ether above all gliding on its even way and mixing with none of the lower elements. This account of creation in its broad outlines is surprisingly similar to the nebular hypothesis of Laplace.

We need not follow Lucretius in his theories of the various phenomena of nature, for many of them are grotesque in the extreme and many are opposed to correct views that were held even at that time. Among these may be cited his rejection of the theory of gravitation and the antipodes. He will often suggest several possible explanations of a phenomenon, stating that any one may be true and that it is a matter of indifference which is accepted. This unscientific procedure, typical of the attitude of the Epicurean school, is due to the fact that, though the system emphasized the importance of physics, as the ancient philosophers called it, the main interest of the sect was in the branch called ethics. As soon as Lucretius had established his thesis that the soul of man was material in structure, he was rather indifferent to the strict application of the theory of atoms to the other facts of nature.

The theory of the survival of the fittest and the account

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

of the growth of civilization are powerfully presented and in the main along correct lines, as follows. Many races of regularly organized creatures must have died off because they lacked some natural power by which to protect themselves; they fell a prey to others and disappeared, unable to endure the struggle for existence. Primitive man was much hardier then than now and lived like the beast in the field; ignorant of tillage, he fed on what the earth supplied of itself, acorns and berries, and drank of the running waters; he was without fire or clothes or home, without law, government, or marriage; he slept on the ground, not fearing the dark to which he had been used from childhood; his fear was the fear of savage beasts. Next the use of huts and skins and fire softened his body; marriage and the ties of family, his temper. Neighbors agreed not to injure each other and made treaties of friendship and alliance, which mostly they observed, though not always. This last statement is interesting—that even before men had developed the faculty of speech they agreed by means of signs to live in peace with one another. That is, a mutual agreement to obey laws for the common interest is the principle on which the Epicurean holds society to be based. In this doctrine Epicurus anticipated by many centuries the teaching of Rousseau.

Nature and need prompted men to the use of speech; lightning first gave fire to men; cooking they learned from the effects of the sun's rays, which they saw softening and ripening things. Every day men of genius invented improved methods of life; cities were built, lands and cattle allotted, at first according to merit, but soon the discovery

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

of gold gave all power to the wealthy; men would not learn how little was needed for happiness; they therefore sacrificed everything for power and eminence. Kings were overthrown and anarchy followed, till nations weary of violence established laws and constitutions; their fear of punishment restrained men, as injustice generally recoils on the wrongdoer, and if he escapes punishment he cannot escape the terrors of conscience. Men saw the seasons change and all the wonders of the heaven; they therefore placed their gods in heaven and believed that all things were governed by them.

The metals were discovered through the burning of woods, which baked the earth and caused the ore to run. With these they made arms and tools. At first copper was rated more highly than useless gold and silver. For arms, men used at first hands, nails, teeth, clubs, then fire, then copper or brass, at last iron. Horses were first employed in war, then chariots, then elephants—strife begetting one horror after another. Weaving came into use after iron, as the web could not be woven without instruments of iron. Nature first taught to sow, plant, and graft; then one kind of culture after another was devised and more and more ground brought under tillage. Birds taught men song; from the whistling of the zephyrs through reeds they learned to blow through stalks; next the pipe came into use. With such music watchers would while away the time and derive no less pleasure than is now derived from elaborate tunes. Finally came walled towns, division of lands, ships, treaties between states, and, when letters were invented, literature.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

Such is the epic of civilization sketched by Lucretius in powerful strokes and such is the complicated state of existence that has arisen as a result of the combination of the simple atom.

The classical atomic theory remained as formulated by Lucretius and was rather unfruitful until the sixteenth century, when Pierre Gassendi, a French philosopher, revived interest in it. He accepted the theory as outlined, with the exception that, being a churchman, he had God create atoms and void, whereas the ancients had them exist from all eternity.

The modern theory of atoms as applied to chemistry was worked out by Dalton at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is historically the Greek theory with this important difference. The theory of elements had been developed in chemistry and it was to that series of elements that Dalton applied his atomic hypothesis. The original element in his work was the theory that atoms were not of various shapes but that the atoms of different elements were different in weight. From Dalton's time the atomic theory followed two distinct lines of development—one in chemistry and one in physics. Subsequent experiments in physics have led to the isolation of the atom, and one hundred years after the adoption of the atomic theory in its modern form, science demonstrated that the atomic unit is made up of smaller units or electrons. The theory of electrons does not set aside the theory of atoms but goes beyond it.

We are accustomed to view Greece as the mother of all that we have of value in art and literature; is it not, however, somewhat surprising to find such a close connection

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

between this old Greek theory of the constitution of matter and that modern hypothesis that alone permitted the development of the sciences of chemistry and physics? Indeed, we may go so far as to say that none of the ideas of antiquity have been more suggestive than this,³ for modern scientific research has its starting point in the attempt so many centuries ago of Leucippus, the father of the atomists, to reduce qualities to quantities or, rather, to establish fixed relations between the two.

³ See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, I, 349.

VIII

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED AS THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE?

THE problem of an international language was most earnestly discussed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was the period that saw the rise and fall of Volapük, the first of the artificial languages, which, in a certain sense, did become international and indicated at least the possibility that some such scheme was not entirely visionary.

It was in the period between the decline of Volapük and the rise of Esperanto that the project of reviving Latin as an international language, either solely for scientific purposes or for communication of all kinds, was first seriously considered.

It is interesting to note that the present revival of the project to make Latin serve the purpose follows in the wake of the apparent failure of Esperanto to meet the requirements, though its phenomenal vogue for a short time gave hopes of ultimate success. After its successor, Neutral Idiom, has run its course, we shall probably see another resurrection of the Latin project.

At the time of the Paris Exposition, where many learned societies convened, a committee was appointed to study the question of an international language. In the following year the committee submitted a report embodying the fol-

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

lowing dicta: that the international language should be merely an auxiliary language, to serve as a medium of oral and written communication among peoples of the civilized world, which should not interfere in any way with the vernaculars of the individual peoples. It should be a language easily adapted to the uses of everyday life, to commerce, and to all scientific and philosophical discussion. It should be easy enough to be learned in a very short time with a minimum expenditure of effort. It should under no circumstances be one of the international languages now in use. These conditions certainly had in view an artificial language, as none of the existing tongues would seem to meet all the requirements.

During the subsequent lull in the popular discussion of the problem, extending up to 1917, we have seen settled the fate of several of the artificial languages that had been invented and placed upon the market. It is not my intention to discuss these so-called languages, because in my opinion such attempts are doomed to failure. It will suffice to say that at the present time a scientific article in Esperanto appears but rarely and that Neutral Idiom has as yet fallen far short of the degree of popularity that Esperanto once attained.

The principle laid down by the Paris committee that the international language should not be one of the present national languages was dictated by the idea that national jealousy would inevitably prevent the adoption of a modern language now in use and that any attempt to effect this would be labor lost.

The artificial languages hitherto tried having proved a

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED?

failure and a modern tongue being seemingly disbarred, in the present revival of the discussion in England and, more particularly, in Italy, Latin is the language that is proposed. It is suggested that Latin can be made to meet the requirements of scientific and philosophic thought as it did to the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Its most enthusiastic advocates insist that with the inexhaustible Greek vocabulary from which to draw it can meet all new scientific needs. Latin forms part of the educational pabulum of all Western nations. It is a language closely connected by direct descent or by history with the principal vernaculars of western Europe. It already supplies many scientific nomenclatures, some of which have been reduced to remarkable uniformity. There is nothing to prevent adapting it to the necessities of everyday life and even of commerce. It can also meet the requirement that the international language should be merely auxiliary, not interfering in any way with the vernacular.

Emphatically, however, it does not meet the requirement of being a tongue easy to learn, even when taught under favorable circumstances. This difficulty has induced several attempts to simplify Latin, of which I cite two, *Linguum Islianum*, so named from its inventor, Isly, and *Reform Latein*.¹ The result is a purely artificial language in each case, and this brings us back to our main consideration, Latin.

Some echoes of the revival of this discussion have reached our shores, as evinced by an article in the *Review of Reviews* of October, 1917, and another in the *Scientific Ameri-*

¹ See Couturat et Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle*, pp. 542 ff.

can of November, 1917. The revival of the discussion may be attributed in part to the war. In many scientific branches Italy has in the last ten years been making marvelous progress. As Italian is the least known of the four tongues in which the science of the Western world is reported, Italian scholars, in order to gain a larger audience, have in some instances published in German, because the scientific literature of that language is the most extensive in the world.

It is but natural that the Italians should, in the present crisis, look for some international medium of expression and what more natural than that they should turn to Latin, the mother of their own tongue and a language that some Italian scholars use not only with ease but with elegance? It may be of interest to note that in Italy Latin poetry has been cultivated even to the present generation. I mean real poetry as distinguished from experiments in Latin verse. As recently as 1917 an elaborate edition of the Latin poems of Giovanni Pascoli, the successor of Carducci, appeared.

To the Englishman also, I presume, the thought of perusing the ponderous and clumsy idiom of German science is more repellent than ever, and it is natural that in a country where the classical tradition is still strong he should turn to the Latin. The consideration of the question in England has been restricted to an interchange of ideas between scientific men and to occasional testimony presented by the classical teacher, such as Dr. Rouse of the Perse School, Cambridge, who calls attention to the fact that the way has already been paved in some of the schools of England for the revival of Latin as an international language by the introduction of direct methods of teaching the language,

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED?

which permit the school to impart the ability to write and speak Latin as well as to read it, with a saving of about one-fifth the time. Anyone who knows Rouse or is personally acquainted with his work knows that the facts are not exaggerated.

In Italy much more has been done. A Latin league has been formed at Rome, one of the avowed purposes of which is to further the plan to make Latin the international tongue. Following an address by Professor Carlo Pascal in the summer of 1917, entitled "The Revival of Latin as an International Scientific Language," the Royal Lombardy Institute of Science and Letters passed a resolution to the effect that the matter should be brought to the notice of the minister of public instruction, the minister of foreign affairs, and the learned societies of the world. A date was also set at which the society was to consider the most feasible and effective means of bringing the idea to fruition.

The most elaborate discussion of the subject is that of Professor Ignazio Galli in the records of the Pontifical Academy of the Nuovi Lincëi of Rome for January, 1917. In this monograph Galli does not restrict the discussion to Latin as an international *scientific* language, but considers Latin also in relation to commerce and travel.

I shall refrain from discussing these two latter aspects, not because it would be impossible to express with adequate precision and variety the ideas to be expressed in these two fields, provided that there should be an international agreement as to the use and meaning of certain terms, but because I believe that the possibility of its ever being revived for these purposes is too remote to render the discussion profitable.

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

Granting that Latin might be revived as an international language of science, the experience of the nineties has, I think, indicated very clearly two facts: Latin for such a purpose should be a Latin modeled upon the Latin of the Middle Ages rather than upon that of classical times, and it should freely permit the adoption of the changed meaning of many Latin words now in use.

I am led to this conviction by the testimony presented by several Latin periodicals that appeared when the project was first agitated: the *Phoenix*, of which four numbers appeared from 1890 to 1892; the *Praeco Latinus*, published from 1895 to 1902 in Philadelphia; the *Vox Urbis*, published at Rome, and the *Alaudae*, published at Aquila in Italy. In these publications modern ideas were often expressed with great ingenuity in classical diction, at which in general these journals aimed, the *Praeco* in particular. In many instances one's admiration was aroused by the ingenuity of the phrases. Often a smile might be provoked by their preciousness, but still oftener a feeling of irritation at the cryptic character of the word or phrase. The conviction grows as one reads that such a style and treatment are absolutely unsuited for the serious business of conveying modern thought and that science would not for a moment contemplate submitting itself to such shackles. I can illustrate the point by a simple example. The French minister of public instruction was designated in a Latin discourse by one aiming at classical usage by the phrase *summus rei Gallorum literariae moderator*, a phrase hard to understand unless one had the key. A medieval writer having to express this

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED?

idea would probably write *minister instructionis publicae in Gallia*, and his idea would be easily grasped.

The writer of the article in the *Scientific American* to which reference has been made remarks that if we should adopt Latin as an international language "by furnishing a highly practical *raison d'être* for the general teaching of Latin in our schools and colleges, we should perhaps heal the long-standing breach between the classicists and the modernist factions among educators." Whether there is anything in this suggestion or not, it is interesting to speculate as to what would be the effect on the teaching of Latin of the adoption of the language as an international medium. In the first place, I imagine, there would be no additional incentive to the study of classical antiquity, and in the second place radical changes would have to be made in methods of instruction, at least by teachers who were not securing something like the results attained by Dr. Rouse in the Perse School. I am not at all sure that this would be an undesirable result, but I foresee, at least in this country, great difficulties to overcome because of the fact that few teachers are trained for such work and there would be great disappointment over the results produced for some years to come. We may say, however, for this country what Rouse has said for England, that the way has to a certain extent been paved, particularly in localities within the sphere of influence of Columbia University.

Judging too from criticism made upon courses in French, German, and even English offered to classes in the technical colleges of our universities, to the effect that time is

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

wasted in the study of the literature of these languages, I foresee like and even greater criticism of the teaching of Latin. No such considerations as these should stand in the way of the project to revive Latin as an international language, however, provided the project is feasible, and I myself should like to see the trial made. I hasten to remark, however, that I am perfectly conscious that, in discussing the educational side of the problem, I am allowing my imagination to run away with my discretion, for, notwithstanding the many circumstances that would seem to point to Latin as the promised tongue, there are certain other facts strong enough to prevent its general use in the way proposed.

The reason that Latin was given up as the universal language of science was that more and more it was felt to be a restraint upon untrammelled expression of thought. The classicists did all they could to assist its disuse by insisting upon the employment of a Ciceronian diction that science had outgrown.

Nothing is so restive under restraint as the expression of creative thought, which, according to an irresistible law of nature, seeks the line of least resistance. This one fact is enough to prevent the general use of Latin for the purpose indicated. Modern thought expresses itself naturally in languages of an analytic, not in those of a synthetic, character. It takes long and severe training to accustom the modern man to express himself readily through the synthetic medium of Latin.

There is, however, one way in which Latin does facilitate the interchange of international scientific thought, and it

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED?

could be made even more effective than it is along these lines. Latin serves as the basis of the nomenclatures of many sciences. The "BNA" is a striking example of what can be accomplished. "BNA" is a shorthand expression designating the Basle anatomical nomenclature, which consists of about forty-five hundred anatomical terms designating the various parts of the body visible to the naked eye. The terms are all in correct Latin and have been selected by a group of the distinguished anatomists of the world. The history of the formation and selection of this nomenclature is both interesting and instructive. It has eliminated a great number of synonymous or ambiguous terms, and its almost universal international use is proof of its feasibility and utility.

If the world authorities in the various sciences would follow the example of the anatomists, the botanists, and the pharmacologists and would systematize their nomenclatures, much would be gained, for as yet psychology, biology, sociology, history, and ancient philology possess no system of internationally intelligible terms. Then at least an elementary knowledge of Latin should be required of students in these sciences to give life to their scientific vocabulary. This, it seems to me, is about as far as Latin can be used as a medium for international communication of scientific thought, and thus far the scientists should go, even if some international language should be ultimately adopted.

I can imagine but two possibilities for the adoption of such a language. It is conceivable that as the result of political or commercial supremacy some one language working under natural laws would gain such a position

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

that it would virtually serve the purpose of an international language, as Latin did in the past. Such a destiny may be conceivable for English or for German, but the possibility is remote. The other possibility is that by mutual agreement the learned societies, the governments, and the educational institutions of the world should select one of the modern tongues for the purpose. This would, of course, be a great thing for international science, but it would perhaps be a greater thing for the world at large in helping to make nations better acquainted with each other and in breaking down national prejudices.

The difficulties are perhaps too great to overcome. But if we allow our imaginations to play with the idea a moment, we may say that in many ways French is well suited to the purpose. It is understood in learned circles all over the world, being, as well, the European tongue that is perhaps best known in the Orient. Furthermore, it is unsurpassed for clarity of expression. One of its disadvantages is the difficulty of its pronunciation. An insuperable obstacle, however, is that of national jealousy.

Of the modern tongues Spanish would seem to be the most available because on examination it will be found to approximate most closely the requirements suggested by the Paris commission. Spain does not hold such a position among modern nations intellectually, politically, or commercially that the plan to adopt her language would meet with insuperable objections. The language is already used in widely separated parts of the world. Though no natural language can be said to be easy to learn, it is incontestable that the pronunciation of Spanish is one of the easiest for

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED?

a foreigner to acquire with approximate correctness. The structure is more simple and natural than that of German, Italian, or French.

Finally, the adoption of Spanish as an auxiliary international tongue would furnish a *raison d'être* for the present tremendous vogue for the study of elementary Spanish in our schools and colleges, a vogue which, at the present, I cannot in my own mind justify on grounds either intellectual, pedagogical, or practical.

Whether or not such an international medium is selected, however, the matter of systematized Latin nomenclatures, as I have already stated, is of prime importance in facilitating the exchange of international scientific thought. It is, too, a matter of some importance to those interested in the maintenance of Latin in the curriculum; for should the scientists in general, following the example of some of the medical schools, impose a moderate Latin requirement for the purposes outlined above, it would be of distinct advantage, not only to the cause of Latin, but to the cause of linguistic historical and literary studies.

NOTE

This paper was written in 1918. Shortly after its publication three articles on the same general theme appeared, to which I call attention: "Latin as a Universal Language," by Professor L. J. Paetow, in the *Classical Review*, 15:340 (1920); "The Future of Latin," by the same author, in the *Classical Weekly*, 1920, p. 17; and "Latin as an International Language," by Professor W. A. Oldfather, in the *Classical Review*, 16:195 (1921).

CLASSICAL STUDIES AND SKETCHES

The twelve years that have passed since this paper was written have seen the collapse of Neutral Idiom and the survival of Esperanto. The statement made above that "at the present time rarely does a scientific article appear in Esperanto" still remains true. I am informed that scientific terminologies in Esperanto have been adopted in Japan for certain branches of science, e.g., meteorology, which replace the former German terms. In Europe the use of Esperanto in commercial fields appears to be spreading.

Time has only strengthened my conviction of the utter impracticability of reviving Latin as a medium for scientific communication. The problem will be solved, in all probability, by natural selection. One of the modern languages will come to be used more and more in international intercourse and, being so used, will become the auxiliary language of science.



















DATE _____

DUE

DUE

RETURNED

DUE

RETURNED

May 12 1997

APR 21 1967

870.9001

P635c

1967

c.2

Classical studies & sketches, main

870.9001P635c 1967 C.2



3 1262 03370 1342

